



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Rwanda

Bizimungu Reviews Refugee Summit, Repatriation

EA2711191894 Kigali Radio Rwanda in French 0500
GMT 27 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Rwandan head of state, Pasteur Bizimungu, who returned to Kigali at around 9:30 yesterday [26 November] evening, said he was satisfied with the results of the Gbadolite summit in Zaire. We listen to him.

[Begin Bizimungu recording] We are satisfied with this summit because of the results it achieved. I would like to take the opportunity to thank the president of Zaire, Marshal Mobutu, who, taking into consideration the current problems regarding security, the major problem of the refugees, obstacles to the repatriation of the refugees, as well as the reorganization of the Economic Community of the Countries of the Great Lakes [Burundi, Rwanda, Zaire] called for this emergency summit.

Important decisions were made on three counts. First, on the question of security, we decided that there should be joint controls on our common borders. Meetings will be held for those who are in charge of the problem of security in the first two weeks of December to take further decisions.

Concerning the problems of refugees, we once again insisted that the refugees should be able to return to their country and (?to their properties) voluntarily; that the obstacles put in place by people who are against the voluntary return (?have other aims), and that refugees, who still fear returning directly to their homes as a result of propaganda, be given transit points under the control of the international community. Those who do not want to return home to their country should be moved away from the common borders to a distance of more than 150 kilometers from the relevant borders. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Government Promises To Work With Tribunal

AB2411164894 Paris AFP in English 1634 GMT
24 Nov 94

[By Annie Thomas]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Kigali, 24 Nov (AFP)—The Rwandan Government pledges "frank cooperation" with the international criminal tribunal the UN Security Council has created to try war criminals, Prime Minister Faustin Twagiramungu said Thursday [24 November].

In an interview with AFP, Twagiramungu said that Rwanda was the only member of the Security Council to vote against the decision because "we had to express the opinion of the Rwandan people". "The people do not understand that those found guilty (of genocide) should not be sentenced to death," said Twagiramungu, whose

government accuses troops and extremist militias of the former regime of mass murder.

Rwanda called for capital punishment, asked for the tribunal to be based in the central African highland nation and said that its mandate should extend beyond 1994 to cover earlier alleged crimes. None of these demands were accepted by the Security Council. But Twagiramungu said that the government has "agreed to frank cooperation" with the tribunal "even if it voted against the resolution", though he did not know when the first hearings would begin. [passage omitted]

The premier stressed that his government wanted to be as broadbased and "open" as possible, though neither it nor the parliament due to be sworn in on Friday included members of the late Habyarimana's former sole ruling party. The presence of six soldiers and gendarmes in the assembly would "not harm the process of democratisation", Twagiramungu said, adding that one aim of the government was "the integration of people coming out of the bush".

One of the soldiers to enter parliament under accords between the RPF [Rwandan Patriotic Front] and other political parties was a major from the ousted Army, he said, adding that almost 2,000 of its men and officers had decided to join the new Armed Forces.

Twagiramungu said Rwanda wanted to extradite war crimes suspects from France and the former colonial power Belgium, adding that "we can't give names, there are so many of them". But, he added, "we know that this will not be possible, because we do not have extradition agreements with these countries".

On another issue, Twagiramungu said the government had formally expressed its desire to attend the Franco-African summit in the French resort of Biarritz early this month, contrary to what French authorities had declared. He said he had met the French ambassador in Kinshasa in October and "asked him to tell his government we wanted to be invited". Twagiramungu said he was nevertheless "very encouraged" by statements from the new French Minister of Cooperation Bernard Debre, who said that emergency aid should not be tied to "political conditions". "One has to insist on democratic living conditions and a maximum of respect for the human person, but not to play at destabilising the existing authorities," Debre added.

Rwanda was strapped for cash, unable to pay its troops, and had not received funds necessary to pay back its arrears to the World Bank, the prime minister said. He said he was going to Washington on Saturday to spell out the government's economic policy programme to the bank. A donors' conference, first planned for December, has been put off until January 17 and 18 in Geneva.

UN Reports 21 Dead After Southwest Clashes

AB241115594 Paris AFP in English 1142 GMT
24 Nov 94

[By Annie Thomas]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Kigali, Nov 24 (AFP)—At least 21 people have been killed in clashes in southwest Rwanda, 13 of them when a government soldier hurled a hand-grenade into a crowd, a UN spokesman said here Thursday [24 November].

The Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) for its part said five of its soldiers had been killed in various attacks in the region during the past week and blamed extremist Hutu "infiltrators" and routed troops of the former regime.

A reliable source had told AFP the grenade was thrown as RPA troops tried Tuesday to arrest a suspect in the Cyangugu region. The RPA stated that the troops had been caught in an ambush by "bandits" in the village of Kamembe and that a soldier had struck back with the grenade. No soldiers were injured.

Sammy Buo, spokesman for the UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR), on Thursday confirmed the incident and revised the reported death toll up from 12 to 13.

Crossborder infiltration by troops of the former Hutu majority regime and extremist militiamen exiled with scores of thousands of refugees in eastern Zairean camps had been reported in southwest Rwanda, Buo added.

Eight Rwandans were killed and three wounded in another incident on Monday in the village of Ramba, near the border town of Gikongoro, during an attack by an armed gang led by a former inhabitant of the community, Buo said. He added that on the same day, rustlers stole 46 cows in the village and a onetime farmer in the region was blamed, but Buo was unable to say whether the killings were politically motivated or an act of banditry.

Cyangugu prefecture is inside the former security zone created by the French peacekeeping Operation Turquoise, whose mandate ended on August 22. [passage omitted]

The former security zone is also close to the Zairean town of Bukavu, one of two hubs across the border for sprawling refugee camps where civilian officials and the military of the Habyarimana regime have formed a "government in exile" and established their own order to retain a power base.

Buo said tracts had been distributed in some of the camps inside Rwanda, urging people to join the army in exile. About 500 people were believed to have done so in the past week, he added, stating that he had no independent confirmation.

Some 2,000 UN peacekeepers are still deployed in the zone, where 14 people were shot dead November on 10 and 11 by the RPA, which has stepped up patrols in the region.

Leaders of the exiled army have vowed to exact revenge on the RPF [Rwandan Patriotic Front], which first began civil war with an incursion from Uganda in 1990. An

offensive seems highly unlikely in the short term, but infiltrations have also been reported in the southeast, from across the Burundian and Tanzanian borders.

About 800,000 Rwandan refugees, equivalent to about a tenth of the pre-war population, are also gathered in camps around Goma in Zaire, near the northwest Rwandan border.

Many founder members of the RPF were long-term exiles from previous ethnic conflict, who have served in the Ugandan army.

Zaire

General Marks Mobutu's Ascension to Power

AB2511131094 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network in French 1900 GMT 24 Nov 94

["Message" by General Nkolofalumbi Ndoloanjaye, chancellor of the Order of Companions of the Revolution and of the National Orders, on the occasion of the 29th anniversary of Mobutu's accession to power in Kinshasa 24 November]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Exactly 29 years ago today, on 24 November 1965, the high military command of the Congolese National Army, now known as the Zairian Armed Forces, peacefully took over power. This peaceful takeover of power marked the end of the First Republic and the start of the Second Republic. Since then, a controversy has emerged over this peaceful takeover of power and for years a lot has been said about the timing and importance of the historical act of 24 November 1965. Unfortunately, even the Sovereign National Conference, which could have objectively restated our history, did not meet all our expectations. Indeed, how could it have done this in the passionate and hysterical atmosphere that characterized discussions at this national reconciliation forum of the sons and daughters of this country?

Now that tempers seem to have cooled down and on the occasion of the 29th anniversary of this event, we have deemed it necessary to recall the threefold objective of the Zairian revolution resulting from the 24 November 1965 Proclamation Act and to present its authors. As some may not know, the objectives assigned to the revolution were: restoring peace to the country by bringing an end to the secessions and rebellions, defending the territorial integrity of the country within the borders inherited from colonization, as well as defending and preserving the country's unity by reconciling the sons and daughters of the country.

Many people may be wondering who the companions of the revolution are. On the occasion of this anniversary, we must prayerfully remember those who are no longer with us. [passage omitted]

Our thoughts also go to all these officers, non-commissioned officers, and other ranks who shed their

blood in order that the hard-won and longlasting peace and unity will reign. The companions of the revolution are therefore all these officers who, on 6 July 1960, while the mutiny was at its height and the Belgian officers and non-commissioned officers were packing up to be evacuated by the Belgian troops that had come to reoccupy our country, had the courage to take over command of the mutinied elements of the Army. [passage omitted]

In the face of the important stakes and elections awaiting our country, what heritage can we pass on to the present and future generations? All we have always asked for is that our action be judged within the context of that era and that it be known that, motivated by the same surge of patriotism, a handful of the sons of this country, who were bound by a real awareness of the unity of the Army—that school of discipline—were able to restore hope to a people who had been torn apart. We were, therefore, able to let the ideal of patriotism, solidarity, and nationalism triumph without which that fateful night would not have succeeded. To our political leaders who lead the masses, we urge you to always nurture the virtues of democracy, which are, dialogue and tolerance, and to safeguard at all cost national peace and unity—factors without which there is no development. I wish you a happy anniversary and happy celebrations.

Party Official on Anniversary

AB2411223294 Kinshasa Voix du Zaire in French 1800 GMT 24 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In line with the commemoration today of the 29th anniversary of President Mobutu's coming to power, (Banza Mukalay Nsungu), first deputy secretary of the Popular Movement of the Revolution [MPR], was interviewed by correspondents. The main question put to him was: What does President Mobutu, who is seeking another presidential term of office, still intend to do, and what could he not do during the 29 years he has served as head of state? Let us listen to the first deputy chairman:

[Begin (Nsungu) recording] On the 29th anniversary of President Mobutu Sese Seko's coming to power, allow me to take this opportunity you have offered me to express my best wishes to the president of the Republic and head of state who is also chairman of our party, the MPR. Your question is: What does he still intend to do? I will answer that question by saying that President Mobutu still has a lot to do. I cannot mention all of them but I will simply say that he has to continue the struggle for national independence and to preserve our country's sovereignty against the ambitions of the neocolonial powers. He has to continue the struggle for national unity which is, as you know, is still fragile, and he has to continue the struggle for peace which is a very important factor for any development.

Mr. Correspondent, you know that without national unity, cohesion, and peace nothing can be undertaken. Let us take the example of Rwanda, a neighboring

country. What happened there? It is only distress. Take the example of countries such as Liberia. What happened there? So, I believe that as we have launched the democratic process, President Mobutu still has the duty of continuing the process he has initiated. However, this democratic renewal can only be pursued in peace, national unity, and concord. Some people may not like him but we are at least sure that in the country he is a crucial element for the various development factors I have just mentioned. [end recording]

Border Closed to Incoming Rwandan Refugees

EA2611163794 Bukavu Voix du Zaire in French 0630 GMT 26 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In a message from the Council of Ministers yesterday sent through the deputy prime minister and minister of interior, the governor of South Kivu region [eastern Zaire] is reminded that the border is closed to Rwandan refugees seeking to return to Zaire, while it remains open to those who want to return to Rwanda.

UN Reports 19 Killed in Soldier-Refugee Clashes

AB2711124794 Paris AFP in English 1210 GMT 27 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Goma, Nov 27 (AFP)—Nineteen people have died in two days of clashes between Rwandan refugees and Zairean troops at Katale refugee camp in eastern Zaire, the United Nations said Sunday [27 November].

The dead were 18 Rwandan refugees and a Zairean paramilitary policeman, said Joel Boutroue of the office of UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Goma. Another 59 people were hurt in the clashes Friday and Saturday. He told a news conference that the situation at the camp was tense and volatile on Sunday but that calm had returned.

There was no news of a British driver working for the Action Aid humanitarian organization who disappeared during the disturbances. His name has not been disclosed.

Boutroue said that Zaire had decided to hand over 23 Rwandan "criminals" arrested by their security forces to the Rwandan authorities, probably at the border between the two countries.

Tension began building up last Monday at Katale camp which houses 130,000 people, after a series of robberies and acts of banditry. On Thursday a Zairean businessman was robbed near the camp and the following day the Zairean security forces intervened, setting up roadblocks, Boutroue said.

The refugees reacted by setting up their own checkpoint, Boutroue said. A Zairean policeman was killed and the

situation started to degenerate with "a lot of shooting" in which several refugees, including women and children, were killed.

The "confusion" spread to Rutshuru to the north where other refugees are camped. The British driver vanished during the chaos. His truck and mobile radio have been found near Katale, Boutroue said. "We are still looking for him", Boutroue said. Some aid workers said Saturday they thought he might have been taken hostage.

Boutroue said Zairean security forces had started moving refugees back into the camps on Saturday. Some were still in surrounding villages but the Zaireans wanted them out.

Operations centered on the camp at Kibumba from where audible gunfire brought no reaction from Boutroue who appeared to consider it normal. Asked about the presence of firearms in the camps Boutroue said he did not know whether there were more at Kibumba than elsewhere.

"People said that Katale was the most difficult camp, then it was Mugunga... I do not know," he said, recalling that several UN humanitarian organizations and non-governmental organizations had requested an international force to police the camps.

"We don't have the means to ensure law and authority," he said.

First Refugee 'Thugs' Handed Over to Rwanda

*AB2711193894 Paris AFP in English 1903 GMT
27 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Kinshasa, Nov 27 (AFP)—The first group of Rwandans implicated in the orchestrated violence that has terrorised hundreds of thousands of refugees in Zairean camps has been handed over to Kigali authorities, aid officials said here Sunday [27 November].

The 26 alleged militants, who were arrested over the last two days in the camps around the eastern town of Goma close to the Rwandan border, were handed over at the frontier, said Abdel Senouci, a delegate of the Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. The handover marked the first time Zairean authorities have repatriated suspected camp thugs to be dealt with by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)-led authorities.

The terror has been orchestrated by suspected members of Hutu militias loyal to late president Juvenal Habyarimana and blamed for the bulk of the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of minority Tutsis triggered by his April 6 death. The RPF is dominated by the Tutsi tribe. [passage omitted]

The 26 were transferred in the presence of Goma civilian and military authorities, representatives of aid organisations including the UNHCR, and military observers from the UN mission in Rwanda, Senouci said.

Earlier this month, 15 humanitarian agencies threatened to pull out of Goma en masse unless security in the camps was improved, charging that aid workers were increasingly under threat from gangs of militiamen who had effectively taken control of aid supplies.

The agencies also charged that hardline Hutus were forcibly preventing refugees from returning to Rwanda in response to RPF appeals for help in rebuilding the country.

The issue of security in the camps was to dominate a summit of the heads of state of Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi—Mobutu Sese Seko, Pasteur Bizimungu and Sylvestre Ntibantunganya—which got under way Saturday at Mobutu's northern Zaire stronghold of Gbadolite, a television report said here.

There was no further news late Sunday of an as yet unnamed British driver working for the Action Aid humanitarian organisation who disappeared during the Katale disturbances.

Ethiopia

Somali Refugees Flee Somaliland Fighting

AB2711130094 Paris AFP in English 0943 GMT
26 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Addis Ababa, Nov 26 (AFP)—About 20,000 Somali refugees have crossed the border into Ethiopia to escape recent clashes in the self-styled independent state of Somaliland, an official Ethiopian newspaper said Saturday [26 November].

The Addis Zemen newspaper said 19,531 Somali refugees and displaced persons had sought refuge in Ethiopia and were currently living in five camps along the frontier. The Ethiopian government expressed dismay at the new arrivals at a time when there are already 185,000 refugees on its soil.

The latest influx coincided with a week of clashes between the forces of the "president" of Somaliland Mohamed Ibrahim Egal and troops loyal to his predecessor Abdirahman Ahmed Ali "Tur", who founded the breakaway Republic of Somaliland and was ousted in February 1993.

Tur now opposes independence for Somaliland and has rallied to one of Somalia's warlords General Mohamed Farah Aidid.

On November 18 Egal reported that attacks by rebel militias in Hargeysa, the main town of Somaliland had left 60 civilians and eight of his troops dead.

Ethiopia has started a programme of voluntary repatriation for Somali refugees which is due to continue until the end of March but Addis Zemen says it has run into trouble and the local authorities in charge of looking after the refugees complain that the international community is not doing enough to solve the problem.

Kenya

Newspaper Analyzes Reshuffle of Ugandan Cabinet

EA2311182294 Nairobi THE EASTAFRICAN in English 21-27 Nov p15 (Tentative)

["Joint report" headlined "Reshuffle Consolidates Museveni's Hold on Power"]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] President Yoweri Museveni's cabinet reshuffle last week has consolidated his National Resistance Movement's hold on power and sent signals to Ugandan advocates of the multiparty and federal systems of government that he is ready for any challenge in the run-up to the general election due in three months' time.

At the same time, the appointment of Speciosa Wandira Akazibwe as vice-president gives her the highest political office ever held by a woman in east Africa. Kenya has

never appointed a woman to cabinet position, the highest ranking at the moment being an assistant minister. Tanzania, on the other hand, has always had a mixed cabinet with several women holding ministerial positions.

Museveni sacked his vice-president, octogenarian Samson Kisekka, replaced Prime Minister George Cosmas Adyebo and Attorney-General Abu Mayanja, who was the minister for justice and constitutional affairs.

Forty two of the 48 ministers he named to the new cabinet—with which he is expected to fight the polls that would give him his first election victory—are staunch members of the NRA government, which opposes party politics and federalism.

Paul Ssemogerere, leader of the Democratic Party, was demoted to the public service ministry from the powerful portfolio of foreign affairs, although he retained the position of second deputy prime-minister. The choice as vice-president of Speciosa Wandira Kazibwe, the fiery former minister in charge of uplifting women's status, appears to have been aimed at winning over women voters.

It also sends out an unequivocal message that the new generals have a clear mandate to fight the movement's cause without any let or hindrance. Dr Kazibwe has recently traversed the countryside attacking proponents of federalism and multiple parties, brushing aside death threats against her by extremists.

The transfer of Dr Ssemogerere to the less important ministry was made to tell him that Museveni was no longer willing to have the political rival in a high-profile position.

Ssemogerere, who for eight years after Mr Museveni became president in 1986, kept a safe distance from his own political party, has of late been surprisingly outspoken, hinting at a desire to return to active politics. He also openly supported federalism.

Ssemogerere recently led a walk-out from a constituent assembly committee session after it voted for a five-year extension of the current style movement form of government.

The new cabinet does not include any self-confessed supporters of the Uganda People's Congress [UPC] of former President Milton Obote. That suggests the president is growing weary of trying to appease alternative political forces. The UPC, which two-time President Milton Obote continues to lead from exile in Zambia, is the most organized party and the only one with a big following aside from the DP.

But Mr Museveni has shown he is not indifferent to tribal loyalties ahead of the polls. He appointed ministers from at least each of the region [as published], even bringing back former Amin minister Moses Ali, who was

once held for more than a year on suspicion of plotting to overthrow the government. Brigadier Ali, then minister for youth, culture and sports, was arrested on his way to state house allegedly at the invitation of President Museveni. He had been a bitter critic of the government since being acquitted by court.

His appointment could be a gesture of appeasement for the many days he spent in prison, which would also help win back the support of his West Nile constituency of West Moyo. Brigadier Ali, who served for years as a minister in Idi Amin's government, commands immense support in the entire region. Mr Ali's constituency borders Sudan, and with the escalating tension between Kampala and Khartoum, the government needs the local population's support. His constituency is also strategic to the rebels of the Lord's Resistance Army, whom the government claims are backed by Sudan and whom it says occasionally cross into that country for supplies.

It is in Moyo that the Sudanese Government claims rebels of the Sudan People's Liberation Army get their reinforcement, a charge Uganda denies.

Most of the key ministries were retained by their incumbent, the majority of whom are die-hard NRM supporters. Ten out of the 15 new faces in the cabinet are known supporters of the NRM, while only two of its supporters were dropped. One of them, Sam Njuba, erstwhile minister of state for constitutional affairs, had fallen out with the leadership after he accused the government by proxy of "smuggling" into the draft constitution a clause that sought to give more authority to the president. It was he who had overseen the writing of the constitution-making exercise.

And Mr Adyebo, the outgoing prime minister, seems to have been dropped because he had failed to win over votes for the government in Lango, the birthplace of Mr Museveni's arch-rival Dr Obote. He had been widely expected to thwart the victory of UPC strongwoman Cecilia Ogwal, who swept Lira Municipality in the March elections for the constituent assembly [CA]. Lira is the headquarters of the Lango region. [passage omitted]

The cabinet reshuffle had been expected shortly after the CA elections in March and surprised many people when it came.

Tanzania

Mwinyi Appeals to Donor Countries To Continue Aid

EA1811174694 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania
Network in Swahili 1300 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has appealed to representatives of donor countries to continue providing Tanzania with aid while firm steps are taken to catch evaders of taxes and duties. He warned that if donors withhold financial aid already pledged,

Tanzanians will suffer and the process of taking successful steps toward reforming the budget situation will be rendered even more difficult.

President Mwinyi was addressing representatives of various embassies in Tanzania and that of the World Bank, whom he had summoned to State House in Dar es Salaam. He called on the representatives to convey his appeal to their governments and emphasized that his decision to take corrective steps is credible.

The president told the donors' representatives that in addition to taking steps to collect unpaid dues, legal action will be taken against tax evaders, including government officers found participating in depriving the government of revenue by means of illegal stratagems.

The participants in the discussions included the Canadian ambassador as well as the ambassadors of the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland.

Seeks To Reassure Donors

EA1911161294 Nairobi KNA in English 1002 GMT
19 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Dar es Salaam, 19 November (KNA/PANA)—Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has appealed to all donor countries and agencies not to stop disbursement of already committed funds to Tanzania, reports PANA, quoting the Tanzanian news agency, SHIHATA. Mwinyi said to stop the disbursement of funds to Tanzania at this time was likely to make things worse and affect the majority of Tanzanians.

Speaking to donor countries' representatives here at State House yesterday, President Mwinyi said the government had already started taking measures against tax evasion.

Mwinyi's appeal follows the announcement by the Swedish Government and Norwegian authorities this week that they have suspended developmental aid totaling shs 15.4 bn [shillings] until the government completes its investigation on rampant tax evasion.

He told donor representatives that the stoppage of the assistance will greatly affect areas such as developmental activities, [the] recurrent budget and specific assistance to areas like transport, and the overall balance of payment support.

Last week president Ali Hassan Mwinyi ordered a full investigation into tax evasion and illegal exemptions, which has [as received] resulted [in] the government to lose shs 70 bn—about 140 m U.S. dollars.

"I do not need any further pressure to implement what I have started," said the president, urging donor countries' representatives to send that message to their governments.

The president said he had directed the controller and auditor-general and the attorney-general to submit to the

government by the end of this month the list of tax evaders. "I want to make absolutely clear that there will be no negotiations of the taxes to be paid. Audits would be conducted within the next three months and the cases should be dealt with swiftly," he said.

"Within three months, investigations on tax evasion would be completed and the offenders dealt with", the president said, stressing that: "bear with me while the measures are being taken. Officials involved in this mess will have to answer. We are committed to put our house in order."

The ambassador of Sweden to Tanzania, Thomas Olof Palme, said his government has suspended the release of 13.5 m dollar balance of payments support grant in response to a World Bank report passed to the Swedish authorities earlier this week, which contained allegations of financial irregularities inside the Tanzanian customs authority. The bank report said the customs authority had failed to account for tens of millions of dollars in duties on imported goods. The ambassador quoted the Swedish minister for development and cooperation, Pierre Schori [post, name as received] as saying that the Swedish Government looks seriously on the matter, even if the suspicions do not touch Swedish development assistance funds.

Speaking in the same meeting, the ambassador of Denmark said the majority of tax exemptions given were illegal. He said his government looked forward to [the] restoration of trust to the Tanzanian Government.

The meeting with the president was attended by a number of ambassadors from donor countries, including that of the Netherlands, Canada, Sweden, Denmark and others.

Under Tax Exemption Probe

*AB2211074094 Paris AFP in English 1321 GMT
21 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Dar es Salaam, Nov 21 (AFP)—Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi faces investigation for allegedly ordering illegal tax evasions and exemptions, the controller and auditor-general announced in a report on Monday.

The auditor-general said his office was investigating allegations that Mwinyi had ordered the exemptions and evasions from tax amounting to some 35 million dollars, in his 1992/93 report to parliament in the central town of Dodoma.

The investigations were ordered two weeks ago after revelations of rampant tax evasions and exemptions

amounting to over 160 million dollars in the 1993 financial year alone, the report said.

Irregularities in tax and revenue collection by finance ministry and the treasury has raised serious concern among donor countries.

Norway and Sweden last week announced that they were respectively withholding 15 million dollars and 13.5 million dollars in scheduled aid to Tanzania, pending the outcome of the probe.

But Mwinyi convened a meeting last Friday with representatives of major donor countries and agencies, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

He appealed for continued aid while his government probed and took action against culprits that had denied it billions of dollars in tax revenue, in what his critics described as an act of desperation.

Mwinyi told the meeting that measures had already been taken to punish those involved, a reference to last month's sacking of treasury deputy principal secretary, Juma Nkoma, said to have been responsible for most of the tax-exemptions on behalf of finance minister Professor Kighoma Malima.

Analysts maintained, however, that the sacking of Nkoma was not enough, pointing out that Malima, who was the sole authority for exemptions, should take responsibility.

But Malima shifted the blame to the Investment Promotion Centre (IPC), which is headed by former cabinet minister George Kahama.

Malima also partially blamed members of parliament of being partly responsible for the irregularities for rejecting his proposals in last June's budget to remove exemption powers from the IPC.

Most exemptions on import and customs duties are said to have been granted by Malima after recommendations from the IPC to prospective investors, but whose projects never took off the ground and goods later sold in the country at exorbitant profits.

Rampant corruption in the treasury and its institutions have also been the major cause leading to the loss of billions of dollars every year in unpaid taxes, especially by importers.

Last year, the government was forced to introduce a mini-budget, introducing new taxes to raise more funds to run ministries after it fell short of money due to non-collection of taxes.

The government has no alternative but to completely overhaul the treasury and its agencies, in a new bid to stamp out corruption within the system, analysts said.

SANDF Denies Troops on Standby for Angola*MB2711154194 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1120 GMT 27 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Johannesburg Nov 27 SAPA—The SA [South African] National Defence Force [SANDF] on Sunday [27 November] denied it had put soldiers on standby for peace-keeping duty in Angola. Chief director of communication Lt-Col Margie Neethling, reacting to a Sunday newspaper report, said the force had done some contingency planning pending a decision by the government about South Africa's possible involvement in Angola. "There are, however, no troops on standby," she said in a statement, adding the front-page report was "pure speculation".

"Involvement in Angola will be decided by the government of national unity and not the SANDF. Contingency planning is a routine part of the SANDF's normal process to be prepared for any contingency."

The cabinet will on Wednesday discuss a request from the UN secretary-general representative in war-ravaged Angola that South Africa join the peace-keeping force to prop up the peace accord signed last Sunday in the Zambian capital, Lusaka.

Opposition Politicians on Role in Parliament*MB1811134894 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1830 GMT 17 Nov 94*

[Interview with ACDP leader the Rev. Kenneth Meshoe, FF leader General Constand Viljoen, and PAC spokesman Gora Ebrahim in the SABC Cape Town studio and DP leader Tony Leon in Johannesburg by correspondent Penny Smythe; from the "Agenda" program—live]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Smythe] Good evening and thanks for joining us on Agenda. Nineteen-ninety-four has been a year of firsts for South Africa. A democratic election, a government of national unity in which members of the ANC, the NP [National Party], and the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] have worked together in the cabinet, and the voices of people previously unheard are now represented by a number of parties with differing political beliefs.

So, as the first parliamentary session of the new government ends, what is the worth of the smaller parties, and what have they achieved? From the African Christian Democratic Party [ACDP] we have Rev. Kenneth Meshoe; General Constand Viljoen from the Freedom Front; and representing the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC], Mr. Gora Ebrahim, and they, of course are sitting in our parliamentary studio. Good evening, gentlemen. And with me here in Johannesburg, from the Democratic Party [DP], Mr. Tony Leon.

Well, this is a question, really, for all of you, but I think that, perhaps, if I start with Mr. Leon here in Johannesburg.... [pauses] I think, leading up to the elections, the various parties had fairly strong policy platforms on which

to base their election campaigns. Just how successful do you feel you've been, or not, in achieving the aims that you set out for yourself? Mr. Leon, we can start with you.

[Leon] Well, I think we've been much more successful, Penny, after the election than we were during the election, where we did badly. But our program was based on one slogan: protecting you, the voter, from the abuse of power. I think we've gone a long way towards demonstrating that in the seven months of this parliamentary session. For example, the one way—the best way—any party can hold a government to account is to use the parliamentary platform to ask questions, to probe. We, although we only have 2 percent of the seats, have asked 50 percent of the questions in Parliament and 80 percent of the questions in the Senate. I think that's very important, in terms of creating an accountable government.

And there have been some very tough issues which have had to be tackled. Shell House is one—not because we concentrate on what the ANC does badly, but when the government or the governing party has a responsibility for law and order and its own performance for doing that leaves something to be desired, then it's the duty of a party or a member of parliament to raise that relentlessly in parliament, and we've done that, as well.

[Smythe] So do you see yourself more as a sort of thorn in the side, regularly, than actually necessarily achieving specific policy goals?

[Leon] I think South Africa and the voters need a vigilante watchdog, and I like to think we have gone a long way towards providing that. But we also have a vision and a philosophy, and we try and impact that on every bill which we're involved in. For example, Parliament recently passed the Human Rights Commission Bill. Now that was at the initiative, really, of the Constitution, which said we need a human rights commission. But our party, in the standing committee, went a long way towards proposing specific amendments to make sure that the monitoring of human rights doesn't in turn become an abuse of individual rights. So with a whole range of legislation, we can do that.

And then, on a creative basis, my colleague Ken Andrew is the chairman now of probably the most powerful committee in Parliament, the Public Accounts Committee, which scrutinizes all aspects of government expenditure, and having him there—not just because I think he's competent—but with his particular viewpoint, which is open government, lack of corruption, and free market economics, I think you can actually influence things out of all proportion to your number.

[Smythe] All right. Speaking of out of all proportion to your number, Rev. Meshoe, can I come to you, from the ACDP, as one of the smaller parties in, should we say, opposition. How do you feel that you have fared during this particular session?

[Meshoe] Well, we are very happy with our performance. We came into Parliament inexperienced, not knowing

what was going to happen. But as we have been upholding the biblical principles that we believe this nation has to be built on, what we have been saying has been taken seriously, and I believe the contribution that the ACDP is making is helping to make South Africa what it should be. I think if it was not because of the strong stand we took on biblical principles, for example, the legislation on abortion would have been passed by now. But because of the strong stand we have taken, this has been postponed and postponed, and we are grateful for that. And today I can say to you, I'm so grateful to know that hundreds of Christians out there, and morally sound people, have been sending in their opposition letters and postcards, saying we do not want that legislation to go ahead. So this is a great achievement for us as the ACDP.

[Smythe] Gen. Viljoen, from the Freedom Front's point of view, obviously, perhaps I'm pre-empting you here, but with the acceptance of the volkstaat [Afrikaner homeland] council bill, do you feel that that's been a real high point for you during this year?

[Viljoen] Yes, sure Penny, this is a first for us, a brand new experience, and when we entered the election it was done with a main mandate and a secondary mandate. Our main mandate is certainly to ensure constitutionally that we find a place for our people, that we can be happy in the new South Africa, and we hope to do that by the application of principle number 34. This is our main mandate. It's certainly on track. The Volkstaat Council was introduced within four days after the opening of the real work in Parliament that is running and we have in the meantime in the Parliament itself introduced the Volkstaat Council to some of the parliamentary parties. We have a good relationship with all the parties in Parliament, and we certainly can say that our main mandate is being carried out at the moment to the best of our ability. We have also—we are trying to level the playing ground for the Volkstaat Council, if they come with their recommendations, so that all the different parties will know exactly what we have in mind, and that they will be at fault with the aspects of the terms of self-determination.

[Smythe] Mr. Ebrahim, if I could [words indistinct] just on the point of the Freedom Front's Volkstaat Council Bill there. The PAC chose to abstain on this particular issue. Why was that, why did you not decide to take a definite "no" stance on that particular issue?

[Ebrahim] Well, the position of the PAC is this, that the last election that was held was mainly to remove white minority rule and end apartheid and introduce a democracy in our country. As far as the volkstaat concept is concerned, the PAC would not like to see the division of the country again. Certainly we believe that there may be aspects of language that could be taken into consideration, cultures that can be taken into consideration, but the question of creating a volkstaat, this is something that the PAC cannot support. I would go on to say there that for the PAC this term of Parliament has been extremely successful. Our main issue, as you know, has

been the question of land. We have a restitution of land act passed. Of course it is not satisfactory; everyone admits that, but it is a start that we have made and we think that it is a very important start.

[Smythe] But now, Mr. Ebrahim, the PAC at the time of the elections was quite undecided, a little unhappy about the idea of actually joining in, taking part in the system. What do you feel about that decision now that you have been part of the system. You feel it was the right thing to do?

[Ebrahim] Well, I think we will have to have a definition of the word, system. We are not in what you call government of national unity, that we regard as the system, but we have always been for democracy, and as far as we are concerned we are participating in the democratic process. We said up front that we would go into an elected constituent assembly to draw up the new constitution, and we are participating in the drawing up of the new constitution. For instance, we are serving on all the 16 committees of the Constitutional Assembly. I am serving on two of them, one dealing with structure, the other the judiciary system. So I would say that what we have stood for—that we will go into a democratic process and draw up a new nonracial democratic constitution—we are doing that.

[Leon] I wonder if I could just deal with that point that Gora has just brought up, because really half the work of Parliament, especially going into the next session, is going to be concerned and has been concerned with drawing up this new constitution, and there I think my party, the Democratic Party, has a very distinctive contribution to make—because if you look at the existing Constitution, I mean, that's pretty much a liberal democratic constitution—and that's going to be to ensure that the final constitution contains those provisions which are going to make sure that power is kept as closely to the people as possible, as close to people as possible, and not just in the hands of a government or the Parliament, which is far removed from people and from individuals, and we've obviously spent an enormous amount of time and energy in preparing for that, and in making specific contributions on the theme committees and in the Constitutional Assembly, because that is most of what we were sent to Parliament to do.

[Smythe] Right, just on that theme of what people went to Parliament to do, Gen. Viljoen, from your point of view, obviously as you've said, the volkstaat was a main platform for the Freedom Front and will continue to be until you get that as an actual fact of life, but aren't you actually sort of negating the whole reason for having a volkstaat? I mean, if you are part of the parliamentary system, you are negotiating and discussing in consultation with members of government etc, as time passes a lot of the fears that perhaps people had are no longer necessary to have, the country improves and conditions improve, will there actually be a requirement, will it be necessary to have a volkstaat?

[Viljoen] Yes, certainly, I want to join you. What Tony was saying, he was explaining to you the importance of the Constitution. Now what is important for us to realize is that the Western liberal type of democratic constitution for South Africa might not fit South Africa's requirements, and the application of the principle of self-determination is exactly in line with finding something new, something that will be a tailor-made effort for South Africa. So this is exactly the reason for us being in Parliament, and I think considering the effort so far of all the parties in Parliament, and considering the support that we received, for example in the passing of the bill recently by all the parties in Parliament, then everybody seems to be slowly getting to grips with this idea, because self-determination is not something that you can apply in isolation. The idea is not that we will cut out a certain part, with South Africa all around us, and say this is a volkstaat. The principle of self-determination involves all the other parties so that when we create a volkstaat, or when we create self-determination in the form in which the Constitution is making provision for, that such a development will be to the benefit of the whole country.

[Smythe] Well, let me just ask you, as a first-time situation in this country where we have this new parliamentary situation. I mean, it must be a very new experience for you, Mr. Leon, I mean, you've been involved in a parliamentary system before, and Deputy President de Klerk made the comment that it's been a learning experience, not just for the new members of Parliament but for the old guard as well—in general how have the new members and everybody adjusted?

[Leon] Yes, well, I was a very junior member of the last Parliament, and because of circumstances I found myself leading a party in the new Parliament. But I was saying yesterday to someone that aside from the bricks and the mortar of the buildings, and a few of the rituals, it's been turned on its head, and a lot of it's been for the good. And here, which is something perhaps I don't do that often, I want to compliment the ANC and the speaker, Frene Ginwala, for actually making it a more open, accessible, people-friendly, informal place. I mean, that's all to the good. I think the way that certain of the committees have operated—keeping a check on the government and not just being a rubber stamp or toothless poodle—has been excellent. But there have also been problems. If parliamentarians, and that's all of us, don't take ourselves and our institutions seriously, then no one else is going to take it seriously, and I think when you see in the paper that there aren't quorums, that people arrive late, I think that sets a very negative impression, and I think that charges us with a big responsibility.

[Smythe] Mr. Ebrahim, if I could come to you, and it's not because I am saying the PAC has been a party to being late at all, just because one is part of the whole system of times and schedules. That is an image which we are getting here in the press of [words indistinct] for endless minutes to get a quorum. Are people taking it very seriously?

[Ebrahim] Yes, I think what is important to understand here is that it is not only the chamber that one must look at. One must also look at the various committees that we have. We have 27 committees, plus we have 16 committees, and we have two other constitutional committees, there is the management committee, and people are in fact participating in all these committees. I would go on further to say that for many of us, we have entered Parliament for the first time; there is a lot of reading one has to do, one has to catch up with the various forms of Parliament that are there so that one can make a meaningful contribution to what has to be done. I would go on to say also there that it is very important for us small parties to play the role that we are playing, because there is much more that is required of us than of the bigger parties. For instance I have to serve on six committees, and it is not possible for me to be at all six committees at the one and the same time.

[Smythe] Mr. Ebrahim, thank you very much. Time is always of an essence here as usual. At this time in the program we have to take a short break, but do stay with us. [commercial break]

We are talking to representative of some of the smaller parties in opposition to the government of national unity, and I'll just go back to Gen. Viljoen now, who I think wanted to come in on a comment there in Cape Town?

[Viljoen] Yes, I was going to say to you that although we are small parties, we do have an important task to do, and we have of course much less time to speak our case within the House of Assembly and also within the Constitutional Assembly, because generally when you have to speak in the Constituent Assembly you are given time according to the proportional size of your party. That requires from us very good and thorough preparation and that's what we are doing. We try to be always one step ahead with the rather complicated constitutional issues that we then, in this way, advance in time. The other point about the smaller parties is that I think we have a very good role to play within the committees because the ANC—and in this way this is an improvement of the previous system—is concentrating on the committees, and that is where the smaller parties can really have some influence.

[Smythe] Is that where the work is really done, on the committees?

[Viljoen] That is where the important work is done, and that is where you can really apply your expertise. For example, in the Freedom Front's case we have a very important role to play in defense of very important agriculture, and we as the smaller parties, we appreciate the fact that we have the opportunity, because if you speak in Parliament or even in the Constituent Assembly, then the press is watching and everybody seems to be playing for the pavilion, but when you do the work within the committees, then that's the real time we can really contribute.

[Smythe] The other is pure theatrics. Rev. Meshoe, if I can come to you and bring you in here. We've spoken about the functions and the success or otherwise of the smaller parties. How are you measuring the success of the government of national unity itself?

[Meshoe] I first want to make a comment before answering your question, about the issue of tardiness in Parliament. Now I am also very concerned about that, and I want to appeal to our colleagues that we need to improve on that, because there is no excuse for being late. Now one of the issues that I have raised in Parliament is that we cannot solve any problem until we admit that there is a problem. That is a biblical principle. So if we can all agree that being on time is essential and we all agree that it's wrong to be late, and we work on it, I believe that can be improved. Now I think our contribution has been very, very positive, and we are grateful for the opportunity of being part of shaping the new South Africa, and I'm convinced that as we are here, those that elected us to be here, those that are committed or those that believe in moral standards, we are going to do our best to make sure that this nation does not slide into moral decay.

[Smythe] OK, Mr. Leon, your comments. I don't think we quite got the answer there.

[Leon] The government of national unity, I think, has succeeded in setting an agenda of reconciliation, and I think full marks to the president, Mr. Mandela, on that. And I also think they've done well to get the RDP [Reconstruction and Development Program] made part of the common currency of all political parties. There are some major problems. I have identified three, and these...

[Viljoen, interrupting] Tony, can I come back, Tony, on this idea of reconciliation. Do you really think that we have gone a long way of reconciliation? Because I think we have a good start.

[Leon] Well, I think the start...I think the right atmosphere has been set, General, in the sense that they have all right noises. The rhetoric is correct. Now, we get down to the major problems, and that is the question of—where is the substance, where is the beef? And I'm not talking just about reconciliation. To me, you can't have reconciliation, you can't have an RDP which is going to mean anything, and you can't have a country that's going to work unless two fundamental problems are solved—law and order and the economy, specifically jobs.

Now the government is scattered all over the place, housing in one compartment, worrying, trying to fix things. In some cases, we have now the latest contribution from Mrs. Mandela, for example, about language policy on South African Airways. I would hardly think it's something that need detain South Africans, when 40 percent of our population is out of work and we have an increase of 12 percent in serious crimes in, for example, the Western Cape townships. Now those are the issues that we need specific action on and time without number, and I'm not the only person or the only party,

we've stood up in Parliament asking for specific steps to be taken, suggesting specific steps to be taken, and time and again we are dished away with an assurance that something will be done, it's under investigation.

[Meshoe] Can I come in there?

[Leon] I think this government had got very little time to get those issues right, and then we can really tackle the new South Africa in earnest.

[Smythe] If I can come to you there, I'm not quite sure whose voice I heard there, but your leader, Clarence Makwetu, said that the miracle that South Africa's created won't last if Parliament doesn't deliver. What do you think of the performance of the GNU?

[Ebrahim] Well I would say here at this particular moment that yes, people have high expectations, and that should have been expected of us. But people are looking for the delivery van, and we are now trying to find bicycles to make the delivery as soon as possible and we are having difficulties with that. I think that in six months' time to deliver the problems [as heard] that people have been facing for centuries, in many cases, and for decades, it is not possible to do that. What we would like to see here is more affirmative action taken so as to meet the aspirations of the people of our country, and we believe there that there is a lot of bureaucracy that is holding back the actual involvement of the people and the actual implementation of the RDP program.

[Meshoe] Can I come in here...

[Leon, interrupting] Sorry, I think I will just react to that very quickly. I don't think affirmative action, which I think is a necessary policy, is going to solve these problems. I think we actually need to create the jobs. The only area where there is an increase in jobs is in the government, and that's not going to put our people back to work. [several people speak simultaneously]. Until we adopt the right economic policies in practice, we are not going to have this delivery.

[Smythe] OK, whose voice am I hearing here, Gen. Viljoen?

[Meshoe] I want to come in there. I want to come in there and say it is true that there is a breakdown of law and order in this country, and unless something is done about that, the promises that have been made will not be fulfilled. I am disappointed. Many people out there, actually, are disappointed that the government of national unity is not strong enough to act against criminals. Criminals in South Africa are feeling very safe, and the law abiding citizens are feeling unsafe. And unless we solve this problem and the government of national unity put their foot down, we will not be able to deliver, and the RDP will not be successful.

[Smythe] Gen. Viljoen, you wanted to come in there?

[Viljoen] Yes, please. I wanted to say that I think this is perfectly true. The problem that we have with crime in

our country might be caused exactly by the lack of jobs which Tony referred to, and I think far too much is done in Parliament to discuss the ideology. I think to spend time on such things is over-killing apartheid, and too little is done in [word indistinct] technical aspects of job creation. And until such time as we really create jobs, then many other problems will be aggravated in the country, because the situation that we have is that we in Parliament write long white papers. When you get the white paper, you are tired before you start reading it.

[Leon] That is the point. I think the general is quite correct, Penny, because what we actually need to do is for government now to take some tough but unpopular measures. They are going to be unpopular with some of their constituents. We've got to role back certain of the powers that trade unions have. We have to break down protection which South African industry has enjoyed. We have to actually privatize a lot of state industries. Now, when the government says it's going to, for example, privatize, we ask in Parliament: Are you talking about the occasional tea estate, or are you talking about South African Airways? And there isn't an answer.

[Smythe] Could I just come very, very briefly to the three gentlemen in Cape Town and just ask what their main priorities will be for next year. Mr. Ebrahim?

[Ebrahim] Well, our priority is to make our contribution toward the new nonracial democratic constitution, which is what the elected representatives are supposed to do, and, from our point of view, we believe there that that has to be the priority.

[Smythe] OK. Gen. Viljoen, from you?

[Viljoen] The main object of the Freedom Front still remains to find self-determination for our people, and to contribute toward a good and sound constitution for South Africa, but also to play a meaningful role, constructive but critical where necessary in the role of an opposition party within parliament.

[Smythe] And Rev. Meshoe please?

[Meshoe] We have two objectives. Number one to make sure that the laws that are made are not in conflict with the biblical principles, because we cannot expect God's blessing on the nation if we violate His word, and secondly we want to pressurize the government of national unity to make and take a firm stand against crime in this nation if they want to see South Africa take off economically.

[Smythe] Thank you very much, gentlemen in Cape Town and Mr. Leon here in Johannesburg. Well, tonight we spoke to some of the smaller political parties, but for a broader perspective watch Newsline on Sunday night when members of the government of national unity itself will be interviewed. That was our Agenda for this evening. Goodnight.

Parties View Recent Parliamentary Session

MB2211060194 Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans
20 Nov 94 p 20

[Report by Eugene Gunning]

[FBIS Translated Text] Members of Parliament from different political parties have mixed feelings about the recent parliamentary session. They range from satisfaction to a feeling that nothing was accomplished.

Parliament adjourned on 16 November until 23 January.

The members agree on one thing: The "administrative chaos" of the session's last few days in particular, when there was barely a quorum in the National Assembly and large-scale confusion about committee sessions, must come to an end.

Members of the majority party in the government of national unity, the African National Congress, are clearly pleased with their role. They say that they feel their party is in control.

Jan van Eck, an ANC member of Parliament who was also in Parliament during the previous administration, points in particular to the visible process of national reconciliation in Parliament. He said despite the fact that the ANC and the National Party [NP] are political enemies, they had built a constructive working relationship.

Nevertheless, there is frustration in ANC ranks, Van Eck said. In many cases the party had to make compromises that were not always easy, such as amendments to the Constitution. He said at times it had been tempting to tell other parties to go jump in the lake.

The ANC chief whip, Senator B.T. Ngcuka, said he was surprised. He had expected much more fighting. "I thought the liberation struggle would be continued here and that the NP would give us problems. The opposite is true."

What worries him is legislation that piled up and legislation on the Truth Commission that was not carried through.

Advocate Johnny de Lange said, looking at it in its entirety, he is satisfied but sees danger signals, especially in education. He referred specifically to reaction to the education White Paper. There has to be quicker movement in that area or there will be big problems, he warned.

Members of the biggest opposition party, the National Party, agree that events in Parliament were symbolic of the reconciliation in the country. But they too see danger signals.

"We are now in one parliament," Dr. Johan Steenkamp said. "The big dividing lines that existed are disappearing."

He said an ideological turnaround took place within the ANC/SACP [South African Communist Party] alliance.

Noises about privatization, a free market system, and the payment of service fees and rentals came out more strongly from ANC quarters.

The NP director of media liaison, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, said it was clear that Parliament was no longer just the cabinet's rubber stamp. The legislative authority started to play a stronger role relative to the executive authority. Members were looking more critically at legislation.

Debates also had become more relevant and more representative of all of South Africa. "Within a few minutes you could listen to an ultra right-winger and a Communist."

A new NP member of Parliament, David Chuenyane, said as far as he was personally concerned, there had been more frustrations than highlights. "It was difficult to get bills pushed through. The NP's contributions did make a difference to legislation."

The third partner in the government of national unity, the Inkatha Freedom Party, said via Koos van der Merwe that one of the main highlights was the good interpersonal relationships among members of Parliament. He said ANC members had become more realistic because they have to govern the country from day to day.

Next year it can only get better, but there are things that disturb. How the different parties are going to confront the municipal elections while sitting in the same government can become a thorny issue.

Members from the smaller parties had divergent views:

- Senator Tienie Groenewald of the Freedom Front said he was very satisfied with what has been achieved. The Volkstaat [Afrikaner homeland] Council Bill was pushed through without opposition, and the idea of self-determination was established in the Constitutional Assembly's theme committees. He believes it would not have happened without the Freedom Front.

- The PAC's [Pan-Africanist Congress] Patricia de Lille said about the session: "It was only promises and promises. It is one thing to talk, but another to do something that will alleviate the need of others." She believes that many of the debates were a waste of time that could have been used more profitably.

- Tony Leon of the Democratic Party contributed a lot to legislation and asked many questions. In the National Assembly, the party asked about 50 percent of the questions, and in the Senate 80 percent.

- Louis Green of the African Democratic Christian Party said party members established a consistent theme in their speeches—biblical principles.

ANC Discussion Document on Strategy Viewed

MB2511194794 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
25 Nov 94 p 19

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Three months ago, a 38-page confidential discussion document was presented to the

ANC's national executive committee (NEC). Contained in it was a frank assessment of the organisation's strengths and weaknesses after the April election, and a sober look at the problems then facing the ANC as the main partner in government. The organisation had been in power for only three months, a wave of labour strikes was sweeping across the country, and it was becoming increasingly apparent that the high expectations of the black masses who had almost given the ANC a two-thirds majority in the elections would not be easy to fulfill.

Entitled "From Resistance to Reconstruction: Tasks of the ANC in the New Epoch of the Democratic Transformation," the document—which had been authored by ANC chairman and deputy president Thabo Mbeki—was lucid and very carefully thought out. If it was realistic in its appraisal of the challenges facing the Government National Unity (GNU) in general and the ANC in particular, it also showed an amazing degree of paranoia within ANC ranks, especially with regard to "counter-revolutionary violence" and criticism from the media.

The 100-day political honeymoon had just ended, and for the first time the ANC in Government found itself the target of sometimes very biting criticism from the press. And so the press itself came in for some sharp criticism from Mbeki, who had himself been on the receiving end of fairly sharp exchanges with the media. "It is necessary to bear in mind," he wrote, "that this media is itself driven by fear of a truly non-racial order because of its concern to preserve its own racial status quo with regard to various matters, including ownership, editorial control and staffing."

Now the ANC faces challenges of a slightly different kind: keeping all its components together and preparing for next year's local government elections. Different views are already being exchanged ahead of the organisation's first post-apartheid national congress in Bloemfontein next month.

A new document in THE STAR's possession, entitled "Discussion Document: ANC strategy and tactics," was first tabled at the organisation's last NEC meeting this month. Subsequently amended, the 13-page document—also authored by Mbeki—will be put before the NECs of the ANC, the ANC Youth League and the ANC Women's League this weekend. It is divided into two broad sections, resistance and transformation. The first, beginning with the history of the ANC since its formation in Bloemfontein in 1912, looks at the origin of the movement's armed struggle and ends with the negotiations which began in 1990 and culminated in the country's historic election this year.

It is in the second section that real issues are discussed. According to the document, the ANC's strategic objective remains the transformation of the country into a united, democratic, non-racial and prosperous society—which "can only be achieved through struggle." Although the adoption of the Interim Constitution last

year and the April election amounted to "a qualitative historical moment in the course of (the) transfer of political power from the white minority to the democratic majority, this moment marked a decisive but not complete transfer of political power."

"The democratic majority has won only some of the important elements of that political power necessary for the advancement of the struggle towards the completion of the current phase of the democratic revolution," says the document. The organisation, Mbeki avers, is the vanguard political movement at the head of the process of transformation, and must therefore continue to anchor itself in its mass base. It should remain a broad democratic movement by accepting into its ranks all who accepted and abided by its policies and objectives, and had to continue to mobilise and organise the ANC Women's and ANC's Youth Leagues.

At the top of the organisation's agenda for the future should be "the all-round political, economic and social emancipation and upliftment of the black majority ... (which) is the section which displayed overwhelming confidence in the policies and objectives of the ANC."

The document says the black working class, the black rural poor and "the significant section of the black middle strata" represented forces which possessed "the best political and ideological potential to lead and defend the process of transformation." Then Mbeki touches on the importance of the ANC continuing its alliance with organisations such as COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], the SA [South Africa] Communist Party and civic organisations. He says the process of reconstruction and development was taking place at a time when labour organisations had reached "an unprecedented level organisation and political maturity," when rural communities were acutely aware of and reclaiming their right to land, and when numerous "democratic organisations of civil society" in both urban and rural areas were sprouting up. "These are sections of our society most eager to see a thorough-going process of social transformation," says the document.

The Government's centrepiece Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) also finds mention, with the document saying the ANC's task of building organisational capacity was "inseparable from successful implementation of the RDP." The ANC, therefore, had to pursue its strategic political objective by exercising "effective organisational and political leadership" at all levels of the mass democratic movement.

The document also speaks about the importance of business contributing to the successful implementation of the RDP, restructuring and transformation of organs of State such as the security forces, destroying all centres of counter-revolutionary violence and destabilisation still existing, and ensuring the continued existence of the GNU.

ANC Said Seeking 'Scapegoat' for Problems

MB2711184494 Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans
27 Nov 94 p 16

[Editorial: "'Struggle'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is becoming evident: There is unease and concern within the ANC's leadership hierarchy because it cannot satisfy the expectations of its supporters fully and fast enough. Before the election it shouted the refrain about jobs and houses from all from the rooftops. Now it has to make a plan and find a scapegoat.

First it was Justice Minister Dullah Omar, who a few weeks ago said in London: The general election ended white government, but did not bring an end to white domination. Thereafter PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] Premier Tokyo Sexwale complained that the ANC holds the positions but not the power.

This week a confidential ANC document came to light which raises speculation that the ANC will shortly, at its congress, return to the so-called struggle [preceding word on English]. Reconciliation will have to play second fiddle.

The ANC promised a revolution. Its communist component gave it a name: the National Democratic Revolution. Its great mass of supporters has up to now seen very little of this, due to inescapable realities, and is becoming dissatisfied. The ANC leadership must find an instant solution, and so struggle politics must be resurrected.

For this a scapegoat is needed. The language being used by the ANC top dogs indicates that their search is over: Point the finger at the country's First World community. Say it is they who stand in the way of true reform. Blame their relative "prosperity" (which has been shrinking for decades now) for everything that is wrong and bad. Say their relative "prosperity" flows from the sweat of apartheid. And ignore the fact that this "prosperity" compares poorly with countries which never knew apartheid.

Or did Mr. Omar mean something different in London, and is the ANC's confidential document being misunderstood? If not, this kind of thinking creates an extremely dangerous state of mind among his followers.

It is already clear that the flood of overseas money which the ANC expected is little more than the drip from a leaking tap. It cannot "struggle" with foreign powers. At the most it can complain about "peanuts." Therefore, those against whom the struggle must be waged must be precisely those who, through profit or earnings, have to keep the state coffers filled.

If this is not so, the ANC must state clearly against whom it wants to "struggle," and how this will eventually affect not just the government of national unity, but the whole country. Perhaps it has not hit the ANC leadership yet that those people it has in its sights are forlornly observing how their schools and language and daily life

are being maneuvered towards the constitutional sidelines—but not their wallets, of course. The ANC simply believes that these people ought and will accept it in the name of reconciliation and voluntary donations.

No group wishes to remain the constant punching bag of the government. The ANC's own history ought to tell them that. If the ANC really wants to "struggle" to build factories, to get its supporters to compete on world markets with a new work ethic, to put a stop to crime, and to raise living standards, that is a laudable thing and deserves a joint effort.

But that is clearly not what they have in mind. And those who will have to bear the brunt of the "struggle" will involuntarily begin to speculate about what hardship the future holds for them. Worrying statistics already point to increasing emigration. Without First World expertise the whole South Africa would soon fall into a Third World pit. And to keep these people in the country, their positive cooperation in reconstruction will have to be sought, without accusing fingers being pointed at them. Otherwise, in about 20 years the ANC may find that it has no one against whom to "struggle" but itself.

Cabinet Reaffirms Decision on Civil Service

MB2311201594 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1854 GMT 23 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pretoria Nov 23 SAPA—The 11,000 vacant civil service posts would be filled "in a way that would assist in making the composition of the public service more representative of the community", the cabinet decided at its fortnightly meeting on Wednesday [23 November]. However, the posts would be filled "within the framework of existing regulations".

In an apparent defeat for the National Party whose leader, Deputy President F W de Klerk, said last week that not all the posts would be affirmative action posts, the cabinet said in a statement it had "reaffirmed its previous decision".

In other decisions taken at the meeting, the cabinet decided to:

- submit three bills dealing with armaments, industrial development and chiropractors to Parliament;
- concur with the appointment of Mr G C de Villiers as director general of the Department of Land Affairs;
- appoint a commission of inquiry into the "potentially hazardous stockpiling of spent mercury catalyst in KwaZulu/Natal by Thor Chemicals";
- provide a state guarantee for the construction and maintenance of the Warmbaths-Pietersburg toll road;
- recommend to Parliament that South Africa become a member state of the Budapest Treaty on the International Recognition of the Deposit of Micro-Organisms for the Purposes of Patent Procedure;

- establish an intergovernmental forum to ensure co-operation between the three levels of government;
- support the establishment of a Southern African Development Community sector for child survival, protection and development;
- back proposals to strengthen the Unemployment Insurance Fund;
- institute a commission of inquiry into the protein energy malnutrition scheme; and
- accept Ministry of Water Affairs and Forestry Affairs proposals for the renaming of government water schemes.

Delay in Delegating Provincial Powers Scored

MB2411171394 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 24 Nov 94 p 2

[Report by David Greybe]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Cape Town—The saga of the assignment of powers to the provinces is expected again to dominate today's monthly meeting between central government and the nine provincial premiers. Provincial sources complained yesterday that they remained "frustrated" at the slowness with which central government was assigning legislation to the regions.

One source said there were nine areas where government fell short with respect to what powers provinces were entitled to under the interim constitution. These were: housing, education, economic development, trade, industry, water, land, environment and forestry.

A government source dismissed the accusation, saying provinces could already legislate on "all the legislative competences" allocated in the constitution. He said the lack of necessary administrative infrastructures at provincial level was holding up the further assignment of powers. He was supported in his claims by a progress report prepared by the Office of the Public Service for discussion at today's "working meeting" between a delegation of central government ministers and the premiers at the Union Buildings.

The report says the identification of the remaining functions to be transferred to the provinces "is in an advanced stage and the process of reaching agreement between the affected institutions is taking place."

The functions include: water, forestry, population registration, labour, internal revenue, statistical services, land affairs, transport, arts and culture, environmental affairs and tourism, housing and education.

However, the already complex process was being aggravated by factors such as:

- Differences over the placement of specific functions, due to legal "overrides" granted to central government in the constitution;

- The time-consuming process of obtaining consensus between parties, and;
- Obtaining "sufficient and correct" information regarding structures and posts of certain former TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda Ciskei] states and self-governing territories.

Premier Loses Chairmanship Over 'Reconciliation'

*MB2711194894 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1921
GMT 27 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Phuthaditjaba, Free State, Nov 27 SAPA—Free State Premier Patrick Lekota lost the vote for chairman of the African National Congress's Free State branch in a surprise result at the party's provincial congress on Sunday [27 November]. Mr Lekota was convincingly beaten by Mr Pat Matosa in a tense election which saw emotions run high.

Mr Lekota said after the vote that his defeat would not affect his position as premier. The premiership was a government post, while Mr Matosa's position was a political one.

Nevertheless, ANC members said it was tragic that Mr Lekota had paid the price for his reconciliatory position towards whites.

Radicals claim Mr Lekota neglected the people who had put him in office. He is now just an ordinary member of the ANC's Provincial Executive Committee.

In addition to the Eastern Cape, the Free State is the only other ANC-controlled province where the premier is not also chairman of the regional executive.

Mr Matosa received 263 votes against 190 for Mr Lekota. Mr Matosa was until this weekend secretary of the ANC in the North Free State.

The ANC in the North and South Free State merged this weekend at its first provincial congress since the organisation was unbanned in 1990.

A group in the ANC said it did not support Mr Lekota because the government post and the political post should be separated. The premier should, like President Nelson Mandela, be above petty politics. Another group argued that Mr Lekota would be unable to give full attention to ANC matters if he retained the chairmanship because he already had too much work as premier. Other members said Mr Lekota's problems began shortly after the elections when he gave money to the Orlando Pirates soccer team to pay a fine for vandalism. Others were angry that he removed a statue of Dr H F Verwoerd from the front of the administration building in Bloemfontein without consultation.

Mr Matosa on Sunday pledged support for Mr Lekota as premier and offered the loyalty of the ANC's Executive Committee to the provincial government, but some members said tension would arise in the premier's office,

where Mr Matosa is regional coordinator of the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

ANC Compromises on Malebane-Metsing Affair

*MB2711172894 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1543
GMT 27 Nov 94*

[Report by Connie Molusi]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Johannesburg Nov 27 SAPA—The ANC National Executive Committee [NEC] has reached a compromise decision that former North West Agriculture [member of the Executive Committee, MEC] Rocky Malebane-Metsing be accommodated in the regional cabinet after his public statement pledging loyalty to Premier Popo Molefe. The decision was taken at a two-day indaba [meeting] at the weekend in an attempt to end the feud between Mr Molefe and Malebane-Metsing.

The NEC referred its decision to the North West ANC Provincial Executive Committee and appointed a commission to sell the compromise to all ANC structures in the provinces.

The rift between the two men reached crisis when Mr Molefe fired Mr Malebane-Metsing from his post and stripped him of his privileges as an MEC about a week ago.

"I recognise the premier of the North West, Comrade Popo Molefe, as the democratically-elected leader of the province. Despite the developments of the past week, I pledge my loyalty to the government Cde Molefe leads and further commit myself to him and the provincial government," Mr Malebane-Metsing declared on Friday.

Sources within the NEC said the deal brokered on the feud was that Mr Malebane-Metsing apologise to the premier, who was in turn supposed to respond in kind by reappointing him to the regional cabinet. The ANC Provincial Executive would make a final decision in consultation with the two protagonists and the national leadership of the organisation.

A commission comprising Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel, Sports Minister Steve Tshwete, Mr Saki Macozoma and Ms Getrude Shope would visit the province and sell the compromise to all ANC structures in the area. The decision would avoid setting a precedent for other provincial premiers to fire members of the executive council they disagreed with, particularly in those provinces not ruled by the ANC.

Boesak Resigns From Western Cape Government

*MB2311172794 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1653
GMT 23 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Cape Town Nov 23 SAPA—Dr Allan Boesak on Wednesday [23 November] resigned as economic affairs MEC [member of the executive

council] in the Western Cape provincial government, Premier Hernus Kriel said in a statement.

Dr Boesak has been appointed South Africa's ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva and will be replaced by provincial deputy speaker and Western Cape chairman of the African National Congress, Mr Chris Nissen.

Mr Kriel thanked Dr Boesak for his services and for his "contribution to promote (sic) a good working relationship" between the ANC and the National Party in the provincial government.

Ex-Bophuthatswana President Back in Politics

*MB2111155494 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English
21 Nov 94 p 6*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Former Bophuthatswana president Dr Lucas Mangope and several former Klerksdorp city councillors on Saturday launched the United Christian Democratic Party [UCDP] marking Mangope's return to the political arena.

The UCDP is the first political party to be formed in South Africa since the April elections and hopes to function fully after the 1995 local government elections.

Looking relaxed and healthy, Mangope (72) assured his political opponents that he was still a force to be reckoned with—much to the delight of the crowd.

According to Mangope, the new party comprises his own Christian Democratic Party and a rapidly growing grouping of political leaders and their constituents from the former Western Transvaal. "Our critics, fearful of the threat and potential of the UCDP, are going to try and dismiss us as remnants of an older order with a new veneer. Let me advise them here and now that they adopt such an attitude at their own peril," he warned.

Strongly criticising those responsible for toppling the Bophuthatswana government in March, he said he would not be intimidated.

"It simply will not work. I am back and I am back with a vengeance," he said.

The UCDP is being co-chaired by Dr Johan de Witt and Mr Kgomoitso Ditshelelo.

Mangope briefly sketched the party's aims, which included the restoration of law and order, a professional public service and creating jobs and wealth for the North West province.

Culture of 'Instant Gratification' Developing

*MB2311154894 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English
23 Nov 94 p 11*

[Report by Tyrone August]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The April elections raised expectations in South Africa to an all-time high. So when people saw no visible change in their lives after a few months,

there was often a violent backlash. The post-election period was frequently marked by truck and bus blockades, hostage-taking, invasions of buildings and land, army desertions, strikes, vandalism and an upsurge in crime.

This placed enormous pressure on the Government to fast-forward its plans to deliver some kind of relief to the anxiously waiting masses. In an interview with SOWETAN in September, for example, Cabinet Minister Mr Jay Naidoo already hinted at the pressure to implement the long-awaited Reconstruction and Development Programme. He nevertheless defended the painstaking process through which his department was going: "People can say it's slow, but at the end of the day it's going to yield a quality product. I've been a trade unionist for years, so I know about delivery. But I also know about organisation. You can't just slide down on a margarine trail."

After decades of systematic deprivation and suffering, however, the desperation and suffering, however, the desperation and impatience of people is understandable. And, to compound matters, the Government is not only facing problems of delivery but of undoing centuries of damage. The main component of the Government, the ANC, was confined to the politics of opposition and confrontation for almost a century. Now it is having to learn overnight the intricate mechanisms and processes of government. Passing and implementing legislation is a slow and laborious task.

North-West premier Mr Popo Molefe, who was in the forefront of the anti-apartheid movement as the UDF's [United Democratic Front] national secretary, referred to this in a recent interview with SOWETAN. "For the first time, one has realised that being in government is a far cry from being involved in the struggle," he said. And, on top of this, the Government is acting within very tight financial constraints. It is determined to slash the Budget deficit the previous regime allowed to build up.

"The amount of interest paid now stands as the second largest item on the Budget," said Deputy Finance Minister Mr Alec Erwin in an interview with SOWETAN earlier this year. "That doesn't make sense in a society like ours. We have a new Government attempting to spend on other things. It clearly doesn't make sense to spend it all on interest. We're determined to prevent Government expenditure from rising. We want to make sure it doesn't rise higher than the rate of inflation."

And it recognises this. To quote Water Affairs Minister Professor Kader Asmal last week: "The masses live in roughly the same conditions as before. Unless there is an appreciable improvement in the physical conditions of the poor, the progress made in government, in the economy, could evaporate. The scene could be set for renewed disturbance and disruption. At the end of the day, what we achieve must be something that can be seen, that is tangible to the people." This is the urgent challenge facing the country's new leadership. The upheaval since the elections indicates what will happen if

expectations are not met. But it must be stressed that the discontented must begin to exercise more restraint and level-headedness.

Damaging property, for example, only adds to the financial burden faced by the Government—not only directly, but also by scaring off potential investors, both local and foreign.

So it becomes a vicious cycle in which there are no winners. Grievances are valid, but they must be taken up in ways that do not obstruct the achievement of the very goals being sought. In the same way those once in the trenches are now redefining their new roles in government, so too must those still left behind in the trenches.

While the relationship between those in Government and those outside may be inherently antagonistic, this tension can be constructive.

It is a constant reminder to the Government that it is accountable, and needs to remain responsive to the needs and demands of the electorate. Instead, what seems to be developing in South Africa are the disturbing signs of a "Gimme" culture: an unreasonable demand for instant gratification.

The result is that democracy is being reduced to the status of an American fast-food product. If you place an order, you want to see the result now. That, unfortunately, is not democracy. Democracy is a far more tedious and long-winded process—as the disillusioned backbenchers in Parliament are discovering. So, even though the electorate needs to exercise more patience and temperance, we need to see election promises being translated into reality. It is, after all, six months after the country expectantly marched to the polls. And, in politics, that is a lifetime.

Zulu Paper Lists Suggested Government Priorities *MB2811143994 Durban ILANGA in Zulu 24-26 Nov 94 p 5*

[From the "Comment and Opinion" page: "The right priorities"—article published in English]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr Blade Nzimande, now chairman of the National Select Committee on Education, claims that there are one million children out of school in KwaZulu/Natal. This has obvious implications for their future prospects, employment and regional stability. He also drew attention to classroom violence and the fact that it was not uncommon for teachers and pupils in the region to come to school armed. At the same time, and more generally, we know that understaffed and underpaid policemen struggle, with mixed results to contain high levels of crime. There is indeed a connection between the overburdened education system and violence—it is precisely those who are part of the so-called lost generation who fall in at the front of criminal activity.

Living standards are also connected to the state of our health services stretched to breaking point, starved of resources and plagued by staff disruptions. South Africa's first development priority is creating social order through efficient delivery of government services.

President Mandela said on Tuesday that the nation needed a crusade against illegality in the economy. He singled out practices like tax evasion by the private sector. The place to begin a crusade, however, is in government, where waste and inefficiency exceed all levels in the private sector. We need a reallocation and efficient use of state resources into the basic priority areas. It seems odd that when we have well over a million civil servants, and taxation levels which are high by international standards, there are not enough schools or teachers, there are too few policemen, and many continue to die because there is no money to buy each one a bulletproof vest. Government must put its house in order and lead by example. Nelson Mandela has said that the state is too large. Let's then have a proper crusade, with well-defined objectives and timetables, to pare back superfluous and wasteful bureaucracy and allocate tax revenues where needed—in policing, in education health and development. If the new national government can get this right, then many of our other problems will wane.

President's Office on Context of Nationalization *MB2411171494 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 24 Nov 94 p 4*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] In a report on Tuesday, SAPA quoted the President's Office as saying President Nelson Mandela's remarks at a businessman's breakfast about nationalisation did not represent what he had been saying at various meetings with business and in public forums. In fact, the President's Office said the remarks did not represent any change on what Mandela had been saying in these meetings.

Mandela told the businessmen government had not abandoned nationalisation, but had merely "shifted its strategy" to allay the fears of the business community. "We still believe that this (nationalisation) is a correct strategy, but in the interests of gaining the confidence of business, we had to shift our strategy."

Mandela's office responded: "The context in which the remarks were made was to reassure business that its input to discussions with the ANC and government is taken so seriously that it has an effect on policy. In the light of its consultations with business as well as other sectors of society, the ANC has had to reshape its policies to meet the needs of the country as a whole. What was said did not, therefore, represent any change on what the President has been saying in various meetings with business and in public forums, namely that the ANC and indeed the government of national unity do not have any ideological commitment to nationalisation, as shown recently in the announcement of the belt-tightening programme. It will be

the balance of benefits which determines whether or not any enterprise is privatised or indeed if it should be necessary for the state to expand its economic role."

Trade Surplus Increases for 1994

*MB2311161994 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1500 GMT 23 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] South Africa's trade surplus, the difference between imports and exports, increased last month by 680 million rands to almost 848 million rands. This brings the surplus for the first 10 months of the year to 11.5 billion rands. An economist, Mr. Nick Barnard, said exports in particular would have to increase dramatically if South Africa wanted to maintain sustainable economic growth.

PWV To Write Off Most Arrears, Transfer Houses

*MB2411171794 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1449
GMT 24 Nov 94*

[Report by Kurt Swart]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Johannesburg Nov 24 SAPA—The bulk of service charge arrears in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] are to be written off and council houses will be transferred to township residents, the provincial government announced on Thursday. The mechanics of the transfer of ownership, which will affect over 140,000 state-financed rental properties, will be debated at a PWV local government and housing summit on Saturday.

At a Johannesburg press conference, PWV Housing MEC [member of the Executive Council] Dan Mofokeng said the summit would also discuss how the writing-off of service charge arrears will be handled. "Our provincial government will be holding a historic gathering on Saturday which will deal with two significant changes to life for residents of our province," he said. The formal announcement of the transfer of houses will be made at Saturday's summit, expected to be attended by civic associations, local authorities, parastatal organisations, political organisations and the business sector.

Rent and service charge arrears had been sites of struggle against apartheid local authorities since the mid-80s, and were the driving force behind rent boycotts. Residents argued the rent money they had paid over the years more than covered the cost of a bond on their homes, Mr Mofokeng said. Government was now more legitimate

and was in a position to transfer the ownership of many houses. "We will be able to give tenants full occupational rights to the homes they have occupied as tenants for many years."

Massive service arrears were also brought about by years of struggle for decent service provision in the townships. Residents refused to pay because they were governed by illegitimate structures who provided poor quality services, Mr Mofokeng said. But the situation had changed with a democratically elected government in place and residents now had to start paying for the improved services the government would provide.

Both Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and National Housing Minister Joe Slovo had made "passionate calls on the community to start paying for services now". "We in the PWV echo that call, and will be making it forcefully at our summit," Mr Mofokeng said. He announced that the R1.6 billion [rands] in service arrears accumulated in the PWV before January 20 would be dealt with in terms of the agreement signed that day for the writing off of arrears in black areas. Options to handle the R330 million accumulated between January 20 and October would be discussed at the conference.

They included allowing residents to negotiate terms of repayment with transitional local authorities [TLCs], to allow TLCs to write off the debt, or to allow residents to pay back over a period of time. Local governments will be encouraged to renew tariff structures to accommodate the needs of residents. "However, it will be expected of residents that they start paying their current accounts now. The payment of services is vital if we are to improve the quality of life for the people of our province," Mr Mofokeng said. The summit would commit all stakeholders to an agreement that the culture of non-payment was coming to an end, he added.

Political, Taxi Violence Blamed for 25 Deaths

*MB2311202194 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1932
GMT 23 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Johannesburg Nov 23 SAPA—Political violence in KwaZulu/Natal and taxi violence around the country were responsible for 25 deaths in the past week, the Human Rights Committee [HRC] said in a statement on Wednesday [23 November]. It said the toll was nearly double last week's count of 14. Seventeen deaths were recorded in KwaZulu/Natal, one in taxi violence. The HRC said taxi violence was a disturbing trend. It had flared in six provinces, causing nine deaths and 20 injuries.

Angola**UNITA Denies Shooting Down Helicopter**

MB2611171694 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1600 GMT 26 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] has denied Angolan Government claims that its forces shot down a helicopter in southern Angola, killing 22 government soldiers. The denial was made over UNITA radio. Meanwhile, an Angolan Air Force commander has said that four crew members of the helicopter survived the crash. Earlier UNITA radio said government troops had captured the town of Cambulo in the northeastern Lunda Province. Reports indicate that despite continuing reports of truce violations, fighting has been easing across Angola since the cease-fire 4 days ago.

Air Force Demands Crew's Release

MB2611192394 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 26 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Angolan Air Force issued a communique in Luanda today in which it says that the members of the crew of the Mi-17 helicopter shot down by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] in Cuito Cuanavale yesterday are alive and have been detained by the men of the Black Cockerel in Mavinga. That Angolan Air Force helicopter was shot down when it was moving sick and wounded people from Cuito Cuanavale to Menongue.

In the communique, the Angolan Air Force General Staff calls on the International Committee of the Red Cross to intervene, and it warns the UNITA leadership about the consequences that could arise out of that cowardly act in violation of the cease-fire agreement.

The communique makes an ultimatum concerning the immediate release of the crew, including Captain Antonio Manuel Adao, aircraft commander; Second Lieutenant Julio Joao, co-pilot; Second Lieutenant Jose Aristides Quental, navigator; and Second Lieutenant Paulo Manuel Pedro, maintenance technician.

The communique adds that the Angolan Air Force will be forced to engage in retaliatory operations if UNITA fails to comply with its demands.

UNITA Reports Government Air Raids on Huambo

MB2711175694 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 27 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] movement has issued a communique in which it accuses the Angolan Government Air Force of bombing UNITA positions in

Huambo, Moxico, and Lunda Provinces. Those alleged air raids by the government forces were described by UNITA as flagrant violations of the cease-fire agreement signed in Lusaka on 20 November. Neither the government nor any independent sources have confirmed yet that the alleged air raids did in fact take place.

Says Assembly Area Attacked

MB2811144394 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 28 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] office at the UN in New York issued a press release on 27 November accusing the Angolan Government Army of renewed military operations in various provinces. The press release cites the UNITA General Staff as saying that a Luanda troop battalion, backed by armored vehicles and self-propelled artillery, took the Mote Belo commune by storm on 26 November. The commune had been earmarked as an assembly point for UNITA troops. The press release says that as of 26 November, government forces throughout the country received instructions to take all locations earmarked for the confinement of Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola personnel. The press release, titled Report on the Political and Military Situation, says government helicopters have been unloading war materiel in the city of Uige.

FAA Warns UNITA Against Continued Attacks

MB2711193994 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 27 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Following the latest Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] General Staff reports concerning constant National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] violations of the cease-fire agreement, the movement led by Jonas Savimbi has again stepped up its warmongering operations in various parts of the country. In Benguela Province today, the FAA Central Military Front Command issued a communique which reached our news desk, and it said that a group of UNITA forces attacked the area of Balombo today, but they were promptly repelled by the FAA troops.

Yesterday, UNITA had attacked the area of Elongo, also in Benguela Province's Balombo District, and the area of (Incachiumbo) in Huambo Province. The FAA Central Military Front Command communique warned that the government will retaliate, if such attacks should continue, and that the UNITA military leadership alone would be to blame.

That FAA warning was preceded by an Angolan Air Force General Staff ultimatum concerning the release of the crew of the Mi-17 helicopter shot down by UNITA in Cuando Cubango Province's Cuito Cuanavale District on 25 November. [passage omitted]

Lesotho

Prime Minister Released From Hospital

MB2511181594 Maseru Radio Lesotho in English 1600 GMT 25 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Right Honorable, the Prime Minister Dr. Ntsu Mokhehle, returned home today from the Universitas Hospital in Bloemfontein, where he received a routine medical treatment. The prime minister was admitted to the Universitas Hospital last week on Thursday [17 November]. A government spokesman has appealed to the Basotho nation not to visit the prime minister as yet, since he required some rest after his week's hospitalization. The spokesman said the prime minister would return to Universitas Hospital shortly for further medical investigations.

Mozambique

1994 State Budget Figures Released

MB2511102594 Maputo MEDIAFAX in Portuguese 25 Nov 94 p 3

[All figures as received]

[FBIS Translated Text] The following are details of the 1994 budget that was revised in June and July. The details are being used in joint preliminary assessments carried out by government and donors. By divulging these details, we do not intend to give a full picture of the State General Budget presented to foreign financiers, but only to contribute, through information that we managed to obtain, toward budget discussions among the interested sectors of the economy, deputies to the new Assembly of the Republic, and other quarters monitoring government activities. The figures are in millions of contos.

Sector	Salaries	Goods and Service	Total
Presidency of the Republic	8,032.9	21,723.5	29,756.4
Prime Minister's Office	307.0	1,467.0	1,774.0
Assembly of the Republic Secretary	447.7	3,975.0	4,442.7
Elections Administration Technical Secretariat	1,253.0	2,406.5	3,659.5
Supreme Tribunal	545.0	606.0	1,151.0
Administrative Tribunal	470.6	782.9	1,253.5
Attorney General and Public Prosecutor's Office	334.5	637.1	971.6
War Veterans Secretariat	167.5	186.9	354.4
Foreign Affairs Ministry	3,236.5	95,453.4	98,689.9
Justice Ministry	1,091.9	3,342.3	4,433.5
State Administration Ministry	1,081.9	1,164.2	2,246.1
National Planning Commission	1,061.2	854.2	1,915.4
Fiscal Planning National Institute	388.0	507.8	895.8
Rural Development Institute	273.9	384.5	658.4
National Environment Commission	436.8	824.8	1,261.6
Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters	—	—	—
Assistance to Refugees and Liberation Movements	201.6	479.8	681.4
Finance Ministry	3,975.5	8,700.0	12,675.5
National Customs Directorate	2,677.4	2,774.9	5,452.3
Labor Ministry	2,652.9	2,732.8	5,385.7
Employment Promotion Office	37.2	42.1	79.3
Agriculture Ministry	5,240.8	3,907.7	9,148.5
Cotton State Secretariat	—	—	0.0
Cashew State Secretariat	217.7	170.6	388.3
Agriculture Hydraulics Secretariat	386.8	299.8	686.6
Mineral Resources Ministry	1,473.1	779.0	2,252.1
Industry and Energy Ministry	836.7	1,335.0	2,271.7
Transport and Communications Ministry	2,135.9	1,383.8	3,519.7
Civil Aviation Secretariat	296.3	611.0	907.3

[words indistinct]	1,037.3	696.2	1,733.5
Construction and Water Ministry	2,275.0	965.4	3,240.4
Administration of State-Owned Buildings	—	—	0.0
Commerce Ministry	1,198.3	2,056.2	3,254.5
National Tourism Directorate	226.0	416.1	642.1
Fisheries State Secretariat	1,002.8	660.2	1,663.0
Education Ministry	4,226.5	10,927.5	15,154.0
Physical Education and Sports State Secretariat	516.2	839.3	1,355.5
Eduardo Mondlane University	22,950.4	10,412.2	33,362.6
Teacher Training Institute	2,693.5	1,089.7	3,763.2
UNESCO National Commission	191.9	652.9	844.8
Culture and Youth Ministry	1,009.7	1,134.9	2,144.6
Information Ministry	1,296.4	13,072.2	14,368.6
Commission for Coordination of Southern African Development Community Programs	196.9	839.3	1,036.2
News Media Higher Council	66.9	322.5	389.4
Health Ministry	12,856.8	21,539.8	34,396.6
Social Welfare State Secretariat	334.4	662.4	996.8
Subtotal	91,786.2	224,030.7	315,816.9
Provinces	204,415.1	105,969.3	310,384.4
Total	296,201.3	330,000.0	626,201.3

Defense and Security expenditure has been estimated at 479 million contos for 1994, compared with 399 million contos in 1993.

UN Troops in Central Areas To Leave 18 Dec

MB2511115294 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 25 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] All UN Operation in Mozambique [Unomoz] troops stationed in the center of the country will return home by 18 December. Our correspondent cites a Unomoz source as saying troops from Brazil, Italy, and other countries are stationed in Tete, Manica, and Sofala Provinces. A Brazilian navy ship is moored at the port of Beira to ferry some of Brazil's troops.

Namibia

President Nujoma Addresses Election Rally

MB1911155394 Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English 15 Nov 94 p 3

[Report by Eddie Goliath]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] SWAPO [South West African People's Organization] presidential candidate and head of state, Sam Nujoma, told a well-attended rally at Keetmanshoop on Saturday that the party was not aiming for a two-thirds majority but to win all 72 seats in parliament.

The President urged the packed stadium to "look for the mannetjie" [little man], a reference to SWAPO's symbol. Karas Regional Governor Chief Stephanus Goliath welcomed the President.

The President said SWAPO had concluded its first phase of freeing the nation from the yoke of oppression and racial hatred. He called on supporters to read the Party's manifesto, translated into all vernacular languages, to find out what SWAPO planned to do during its next term of office.

On the question of land reform, President Nujoma said SWAPO would fight for the speedy implementation of the Land Act.

He added that SWAPO had to embark on a struggle for the economic upliftment of the people, and that each Namibian "should have either a car, a scooter or a bicycle".

Finally the President called on SWAPO supporters not to be intimidated by DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance] elements at the polling booths on December 7.

Says Peace Marks SWAPO Rule

MB2411072194 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2302 GMT 23 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ombalantu, Northern Namibia Nov 24 SAPA—In a continent torn by civil war and political violence, President Sam Nujoma regards Namibia's peace and stability as the main successes of his ruling SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] party since independence from South Africa in 1989.

"Although a young country, the Namibian people are learning to live side by side irrespective of political affiliation, colour or race," he told SAPA in an interview.

SWAPO lost 12,000 combatants in a bitter border war with South African forces which tightly controlled northern Namibia before independence. But the president, who said he had recently spoken to a woman who claimed to have been shot five times in the stomach by South African troops, said there was no residual hatred.

"We preach peace and reconciliation. There is no need to dig out the past. We can learn lessons from Europe, where European tribes fought each other in two world wars and just 50 years later have formed a political union. They have forgotten the past and moved forward in spite of millions of deaths."

With a multi-party democracy enshrined in the independence constitution, Namibians were building the foundations of democracy for future generations, based on tolerance and accommodation of each others views.

Mr Nujoma said SWAPO had in five years brought schools, health care, water and electrification to rural areas and gained Walvis Bay as Namibia's only major port. However, the government still faced poverty, disease and ignorance. "These are enemies we have to combat," Mr Nujoma said.

He was confident SWAPO, which swept to power with 42 of 72 parliamentary seats in 1989, would win another landslide victory in presidential and parliamentary elections on December 7-8. But more importantly, he said, was that a democratic culture was being entrenched.

SWAPO was asking people to vote on its political manifesto and programme of economic development and it would govern for the next five years on the basis of these policies. Addressing fears that an overwhelming SWAPO victory would lead to a dominant party state, the president stressed his party and government were committed to democracy.

"We will carry out our policy as contained in our election manifesto. There will be no dictatorship."

Asked if he was concerned at the weakness of opposition parties in Namibia, Mr Nujoma said the opposition would have to become more "interesting" to the people.

"They have to learn to work within the framework of desires of the people of Namibia," he said, adding there was no need for government funding for political parties which should fund themselves.

He said a democratic South Africa, with which Namibia does more than 80 per cent of its trade, had much to contribute to Namibia and the rest of the region, especially experts for economic development.

"We welcome co-operation with South Africa. Only cowards fear South Africa," he said.

Presidential Candidates Address Rallies

MB2811052394 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2040
GMT 27 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Katima Mulilo, Namibia Nov 27 SAPA—Namibia's main opposition leader Mishake

Muyongo showed his relative strength in his home Caprivi region on Saturday, drawing a crowd at least as big as President Sam Nujoma as the rivals accelerated their campaign for votes ahead of the first post-independence poll due in 10 days.

But in a rare incident of political violence in Namibia, a woman was injured when SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] and DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance] supporters clashed briefly in Katimo Mulilo, a small town on the Zambezi River that separates the Caprivi from Angola and Zambia.

Mr Muyongo, leader of the DTA and a former SWAPO vice president, was greeted at his rally by about 3,000 enthusiastic supporters and a disciplined squad of former South West African Territorial Force soldiers carrying sticks instead of rifles.

In an interview, Mr Muyongo told journalists SWAPO had made disappointing progress since independence in 1989 and were pre-occupied with themselves rather than the Namibian people. He said SWAPO was corrupt, indecisive and discriminated against supporters of other parties when it came to development.

"If ordinary people knew the truth about SWAPO then they would not vote for them," he said, adding however that Namibian politics still had an ethnic orientation and that SWAPO would draw massive support from its power base among the Ovambo people, Namibia's largest group.

President Nujoma and his ministerial entourage, also at a rally in Katimo Mulilo, struck a combative tone about the opposition, accusing Mr Muyongo of deserting the liberation struggle when it became difficult and coming home to join "the oppressors".

The DTA was the ruling party in Namibia from 1978 until independence, after winning elections boycotted by SWAPO and regarded by the international community as illegitimate.

"This time we want all 72 seats. We want to bury all those South African racist colonial puppets," President Nujoma said. The DTA currently holds 21 seats in Parliament, against 42 for SWAPO.

The Caprivi, with a DTA majority on the regional council, is expected to be hotly contested and to produce a close result in the elections, due December 7 to 8.

An estimated 650,000 people are expected to select their president for the first time, and to cast their first direct votes for the Namibian Parliament.

The UN-supervised 1989 elections, which followed South Africa's military withdrawal from Namibia after a long war against SWAPO, was for a constituent assembly which became the parliament and elected Sam Nujoma to lead the country for five years.

SWAPO Said Using State Funds for Campaign*MB2411172094 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1520 GMT 24 Nov 94*

[From the "Newswrap" program; recordings by party representatives as heard]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Two weeks ahead of Namibia's first post-independence general elections the main opposition party, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, or DTA, insists that the poll be declared unfree and unfair. DTA leader Mishake Muyongo has accused the ruling SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] of using state funds to finance its election campaign.

[Begin Muyongo recording] Firstly, I wanted to mention to you the following, the Directorate of Election as it is now, hold the people in the hierarchy that are running that Directorate of Election—are all SWAPO supporters and sympathizers. Secondly, SWAPO is using all the machinery of the state at their disposal in this campaign. Mr. Nujoma is travelling around with two helicopters and almost the whole gang of government vehicles wherever he goes to address a meeting. Let me give you an example.

When Sam Nujoma went to the East, in Gobabis, to address a meeting they spent about 30,000 rand just at one service station and was travelling with more than 20 people in all government vehicles. When he went to the south to address a meeting in Keetmans [Keetmanshoop] he used all the government vehicles including government buses to bus people to his meeting at the government's expense. This is state funds. It's not coming from SWAPO. SWAPO doesn't run these government vehicles. They are run by government.

We believe the state funds are only used for governing the state, not for political activities of his party. But now he's using these government funds for his political campaign for his party. Other political parties were refused state funding because SWAPO knew they wanted only to avail this opportunity to themselves. Now we are saying how is the election going to be seen as free and fair when the scale is tipped in the favor of SWAPO? [end recording]

Leader of Namibia's DTA, Mishake Muyongo. SWAPO's spokesman, Nahas Angula, describes the accusations as nothing but DTA election propaganda.

[Begin recording] [Angula] The Parliament of Namibia has not been dissolved, neither is the government itself, and members of Parliament, and I would like to emphasize that to Mr. De Waal who is making these claims, the very members of his own party, DTA, are receiving salaries from the government, ex-parliamentarians. His party DTA is receiving funds from the National Assembly to run their National Assembly offices, up to this point until March 1995.

As far as the head of state is concerned, the head of state has to have the same privileges just like the members of Parliament. If they are receiving their salaries, if they

have the same privileges, the head of state also has the same privileges. That is one, secondly we say that in the event that a government service is being rendered to SWAPO as a party, purely as a party, the government is asked to invoice SWAPO for the payment of that service. That has been made very clear as a principle.

So these claims by Mr. De Waal are simply claims of a person who has nothing to say. He has nothing to tell the electorate. His duty is just to accuse SWAPO of this and that rather than telling people what is he going to do as a member of DTA if he is elected to the Parliament. What is he going to do for the people? What is he going to do for the nation? You cannot trick this nation by accusing another political party of this and that. So that is just a cheap propaganda on his part and it must be dismissed with the contempt it deserves.

[SABC correspondent Jeanine Coetzer] So you are actually then denying the fact, to use his words, that SWAPO is using state funds to front its election campaign. That's not true?

[Angula] SWAPO is not using any state funds. SWAPO is not using any state funds to fund its election campaign. If the president is provided with the services by the state, he is only provided with the services by the state ... for the privileges he has got as a head of state, that's all. The DTA is bankrupt in terms of ideas. They have nothing to tell their electorate. The only thing they have to do is just to accuse SWAPO of this and that. They have been doing that all along. It's not the first time. [end recording]

Political Parties in Upcoming Elections Profiled*MB2511065094 Johannesburg SABA in English 2052
GMT 24 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Windhoek Nov 24 SABA—Eight political parties have registered for Namibia's parliamentary and presidential elections on December 7 and 8 when an estimated 650,000 voters will be asked to select the second post-independence government.

Two of the parties registered presidential candidates. Here is a brief profile of each party:

SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] of Namibia—Ruling party since un-supervised elections in 1989. Led by President Sam Nujoma. Won 42 of 72 parliamentary seats in the independence election. SWAPO formed as the Owamboland Peoples Congress in Cape Town in 1958, the beginnings of a movement guided by African nationalism with the intention of freeing then South-West Africa [SWA] from South African control. Mr Nujoma and other leaders fled into exile in 1960, winning considerable support for their cause with the United Nations and other international bodies. Returned to a hero's welcome in 1989. SWAPO's military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, fought a long and bitter guerrilla war in northern Namibia against South African and SWA forces. Since assuming power, SWAPO has promoted democracy, national reconciliation and free

market policies. Claims Namibia's peace and stability as major achievements. Key electoral campaign issues are job creation and alleviation of poverty. Widely expected to return to power with an increased majority.

DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance] of Namibia—Main opposition party, winning 21 parliamentary seats in 1989 when it was supported financially by the South African Government. Led by former SWAPO Vice-President Mishake Muyongo, also a presidential candidate. DTA was formed as the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance of 12 parties in 1977 by participants in the Turnhalle constitutional conference who protested National Party insistence in maintaining apartheid legislation. In the absence of SWAPO, the DTA won 82 per cent in 1978 elections and turned the resultant constituent assembly into a parliament. Abolished all formal apartheid laws in 1980. Participated in two interim governments between the 1979 collapse of independence negotiations and independence 10 years later. Struggling financially to rival SWAPO's election campaign. DTA claims to have introduced a free market policy to Namibia's constitution against SWAPO's former socialist orientation. Says five years of SWAPO rule have brought high unemployment, rising crime, corruption and economic mismanagement, with the ruling party breaking promises on free education, housing and health care. Pledges to privatise parastatals. Campaign promises to reduce crime, create jobs and tackle poverty.

United Democratic Front (UDF)—Third biggest party, formed in 1989 to contest independence elections as a centrist liberation movement between SWAPO and the DTA. Won four seats based largely on its Damara ethnic base. Led by Justus Garoeb who claims to be a Damara king. UDF claims to be increasing support outside its traditional power base in western Namibia. Says SWAPO has failed Namibia through nepotism, dishonesty and incompetence. UDF promises a mixed economy and compulsory free education, with decentralisation of government and a reduced civil service. Aims to address law and order and reduce unemployment through new investment. Mr Garoeb has said he will make a major election issue out of SWAPO's alleged secrecy regarding Namibians who disappeared during the independence struggle.

Democratic Coalition of Namibia (DCN)—Formed in 1994 as a coalition between National Patriotic Front (NPF), SWANU [South-West African National Union] of Namibia and the German Union, giving it three seats in parliament. DCN led by NPF President Moses Katjiuongua. SWANU withdrew at the last moment to fight the elections alone. The DCN election manifesto says the coalition would reduce the number of ministries, cut defence spending and restore law and order. Tax incentives will be used to encourage investment with local tax breaks to encourage public and private sector skills-training for self-employment. Economy would be diversified. Rural projects will attempt to stem the drift towards urban areas. Aims to slow population growth, increase pensions and salaries for social workers. Promises state funding for political parties and subsidies to newspapers.

Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP)—Formed in 1989. Tactical alliance with UDF for independence elections, but now stands alone. Joint leadership of Werner Mamugwe and Hewat Beukes. Trotskyist orientation. Accuses SWAPO of betraying socialism, with SWAPO leadership becoming bourgeois nationalists serving the cause of imperialism in the liberation struggle. Believes in a workers' government and removal of capitalism from Namibia. Says SWAPO has become a corrupt, self-serving elite. Promises free health and education and an increase in pensions to R500 [rand] a month.

SWANU of Namibia—Oldest political party in Namibia and the country's first national liberation movement. Formed in 1959, once included Sam Nujoma and other top SWAPO figures. Led by former Robben Island prisoner Gerson Veii. Joined DCN but split from the alliance minutes before party registrations closed. Holds one seat in parliament. Sees main issues as land reform, preservation of multiparty democracy and elimination of wealth disparity in Namibia.

Federal Convention of Namibia—Federalist party opposing unitary Namibia. Led by Clephas Conradie. Founded in 1988 with a strong Christian base. Has urged a boycott of both SWAPO and DTA presidential candidates. Holds one seat.

Monitor Action Group [MAG]—Party leader Kosie Pretorius. Party formed in 1991 at the dissolution of the National Party of South West Africa, a party which broke federal bonds with South Africa's NP [National Party] in 1974. Contested 1989 elections as a component of Action Christian National which aimed to unite the white vote and won three seats. Says everyone is entitled to own identity, culture and language. MAG, with one seat of its own, fights for group rights for all ethnic groups.

Zimbabwe

Mugabe on Making Economy More 'Indigenous'
MB2711193894 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 27 Nov 94 p 21

[Report by Michael Hartnack in Harare]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] All Zimbabweans are indigenous, but some are more indigenous than others, says President Robert Mugabe. "Whites have become indigenous, they say, over time," he told a "meet the people" session devoted to black economic empowerment last week. "But there are those who are indigenous indigenous."

Mr Mugabe's comments are the latest in a series of attacks by his party against the continued domination by whites of the Zimbabwean economy.

And in an apparent reference to Zimbabweans of mixed race, Mr Mugabe added: "others are only partially indigenous."

White, coloured and Asian contractors are specifically excluded from tendering for official contracts worth less than R4-million [rands], under cabinet directives which defy Zimbabwe's constitutional ban on racial discrimination.

"We are in a situation where most of our resources are in the hands of foreigners," said Mr Mugabe, justifying the directives and the grant of R18-million special credits to black businessmen. "Possession of political power we have. Possession of actual economic assets we do not have. That entitles us to see the economy is indigenised."

But former High Court Judge Washington Sansole, now an opposition politician, last week claimed there were "ominous similarities" between Zimbabwe and Nazi Germany as a result of the ruling party's attempts to divert economic discontent to the race issue in the run-up to next year's scheduled general elections.

Following Mr Mugabe's warning to whites of possible "vigilante action" against racism, university students have "declared war" on exclusive night sports frequented by whites. The students threaten to stage invasions of private schools with mostly white pupils. Phillip Chiyangwa, head of the Affirmative Action Group, predicted Rwandan-style ethnic cleansing when businesses ignored his circulars demanding a transfer of assets to blacks.

Roger Boka, whose small educational book importing business has transformed itself into a mining empire, recently bought advertising space to air his view of the continuing contrast between white luxury and black distress. Mr Boka alleged: "As an African, to grow up to be 20 is a victory against the elements. The white man is likely to be born in a private hospital to the accompaniment of a shower of flowers and all the possible comforts of babyhood fit only for royalty."

Statistics show the wealth gulf between the races is partly an illusion caused by the emigration of 200,000 whites, mostly the poorer or artisan class, around independence in 1980. The whites who remain (the average age is 59) are inevitably the wealthiest professionals. The black population has meanwhile grown from seven million to 10.5 million. There are two million blacks unemployed and nearly a million homeless.

Poverty among black Zimbabweans, now experiencing markedly lower living standards than before 1980, was exacerbated by the "Robinson Crusoe economics" urged by government advisor Professor Roger Riddell during the 80s, says the head of business studies at the University of Zimbabwe, Professor Tony Hawkins.

Professor Hawkins believes Zimbabwe cannot improve the lot of its people without increasing, rather than decreasing, its links with the world economy. In the short term this

may mean more rather than less foreign faces around, disseminating skills to make exports competitive. Whites prosper because they remain Zimbabwe's links to the global economy, the ultimate source of wealth from exports such as tobacco and gold. Some of the emergent black middle class who might have joined or replaced whites in this role have, instead, joined the 400,000 Zimbabweans in South Africa where young doctors, for example, earn seven times more than at home.

By contrast, Professor Riddell urged Mr Mugabe to press ahead with moves towards self-sufficiency and independence from foreign investment, reinforcing the inherited effects of 14 years of isolation and sanctions on Rhodesia's siege economy.

In the 80s attempts were made to nurture black businessmen by putting them at the head of the queue for scarce foreign exchange allocations by the government, which they illicitly resold to white industrialists at premiums up to 900 percent.

"Now, with the economic reform programme (backed by the World Bank since 1990) all that has died and these people have been left destitute," says economist John Robertson. "They ought to have used that time and money to have built businesses. Now they are saying 'let's have another source of income'."

Mr Robertson says another grievance is the impact of Zimbabwe's 35 percent base lending rate on small black businessmen, who do not see that their plight stems from the government's chronic over-spending on the inefficient public sector, and resultant over-borrowing. Instead, they blame the white judicial officers, bank officials and auctioneers who put their sequestered goods and premises under the hammer.

Vice President Joshua Nkomo, 77, himself the defiant respondent in one longstanding debt suit, claimed most repossessed property "ended up in the hands of whites", outraging the sacrifices of guerrillas who fought for a black-ruled Zimbabwe. His fiery speeches continue to alarm potential foreign investors.

Academic writer and pre-independence activist for Mr Nkomo's ZAPU [Zimbabwe African People's Union], Iden Wetherell, recently challenged claims that most of the economy remained in white hands. Mr Wetherell noted that Mr Mugabe controlled a huge network of enterprises from the state-subsidised parastatals and the giant Delta and TA trading groups to Wankie Colliery.

Mr Robertson says that while white directors remain conspicuous among the 60 companies quoted on the Zimbabwe stock exchange, 28,000 small, black-owned businesses are failing to take advantage of opportunities created by the economic liberalisation programme because they will not hire skills from outside the extended family.

Nigeria

Envoy Urges Against Further Sanctions

AB2311194594 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1800 GMT 23 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Nigerian ambassador to the United States, Mallam Zubeiru Kazaure, has warned against foreign countries' imposing further sanctions on Nigeria, saying such a move will do more harm than good. He was reacting to some reports that the United States might boycott Nigeria's crude oil. Mallam Zubeiru said no government could effectively meet the legitimate needs and aspirations of its people when its economy was devastated by sanctions. He said that sanctions against Nigeria were unnecessary since the present administration had, through the constitutional conference, studied the process that will ensure democracy to suit Nigeria's heterogeneous society. The United States has imposed some limited sanctions against Nigeria since last year.

Ex-Oil Minister Elected OPEC Official

AB2211124594 Lagos Voice of Nigeria in English 1030 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Riwanu Lukman, Nigeria's former minister of petroleum resources, has been elected OPEC secretary general. This was announced by the Venezuelan oil minister, Erwin Jose Valera Arrieta. Dr. Lukman succeeds Dr. Subroto whose tenure ended in July. Mr. Arrieta said the next meeting of OPEC oil ministers will be in Vienna in June next year.

Minister Denies Oil Production Above Quota

AB2311185194 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 23 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Nigeria has denied the allegation by some member countries of OPEC that she is producing above the approved quota of 1.85 million barrels of crude oil per day. The minister of petroleum and mineral resources, Chief Don Etiebet, stated this while briefing newsmen of the OPEC countries in Bali, Indonesia. Chief Etiebet said that the allegation of overproduction by Nigeria was not true, pointing out that the OPEC Ministerial Monitoring Committee on Quota Allocation agreed in Vienna, Austria, at its last meeting in September, that Nigeria was keeping to her production allocation. The minister explained that what was seen as overproduction by Nigeria was a new brand of oil known as [name indistinct], which is not included in OPEC production quota. Chief Etiebet pledged that Nigeria will not do anything capable of causing disaffection in the organization.

A Radio Nigeria energy correspondent, Alex Udo, reports from Indonesia that Nigeria will present a comprehensive data on her [name indistinct] production to the OPEC meeting for verification.

Explosion Reported at Abuja Military Barracks

AB2411185294 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 24 Nov 94

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] There has been a bomb explosion in the Nigerian capital, Abuja. It blasted the primary school in a military barracks named after the country's military ruler, General Sani Abacha. There has been a series of explosions in various parts of the country in the past few months. Our Abuja correspondent, Umar Faruk Musa, went down to the scene of the blast. Alice Martin asked him what had happened.

[Begin recording] [Musa] It is not just a primary school. Actually, it is an institution which comprises of a primary school, a nursery school, and a secondary school just adjacent to the barracks. In fact, it is inside the barracks and it belongs to some military personnel's children who are attending courses there. So, when we heard of the explosion this morning, we visited the school. Actually, we tried to know the details but there seems to be an instruction not to speak to the press on the matter; but nonetheless, we were able to gather that there are [as heard] actually an explosion in some sections of the school which resulted to some pupils being taken to hospital at Aso Rock Clinic.

[Martin] Who have you actually managed to speak to?

[Musa] I spoke to some students of the school and one of the staff who said that a canister of tear gas in one of the classrooms (?was) about to explode when they alerted the school authorities. As a result of the information, there was pandemonium among the students and some of them got injured and they had to be taken to the hospital.

[Martin] So, it was just a canister of tear gas and not an explosion?

[Musa] That was what one of the staff told me but a student admitted that there were actually explosions at different locations in the school which resulted in the accident and some students got injured. I, in fact, managed to go to the hospital. Well, although I could not get access to those who are injured by the explosion or the pandemonium of the explosion but a nurse at the hospital admitted to me that there are about between 10 and 20 students who were taken to the hospital that morning and that they will all be discharged today.

[Martin] It seems that the military are rather embarrassed that this has happened in their barracks and are not wanting to give out information to you. Is that what you are feeling?

[Musa] Definitely so, because I managed to visit the commandant's office, but I was told that he was not on seat and the management of the college also declined to comment on the matter. So, I think definitely, the military are not expecting this type of embarrassments to visit them at this time when the spirit of the country is,

somehow, very tight since this explosion is not the first, not the second, and they have been even occurring to some prominent politicians' houses and some government installations. I think the military authorities are not happy with it at all.

[Martin] Any idea who is responsible?

[Musa] Some people are accusing the June twelvers in the country who are trying to force the government to succumb to their pressures of handing over to Chief M.K.O. Abiola. [end recording]

Defense Rejects Suggested Army Reduction

AB2311222594 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 23 Nov 94

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Nigeria's National Constitutional Conference in Abuja is seen by many as not much more than a vehicle to give legality to the proposals of the military government of General Sani Abacha. But now it's come out with a suggestion that has made the fur fly. It wants a massive reduction in the Nigerian Armed Forces—currently standing at 150,000—to 50,000 on the grounds that a much smaller force would be more manageable. But the Defense Department in Lagos does not agree, as Sola Odunfa reports from Lagos:

[Begin Odunfa recording] Defense spokesman Brigadier General Fred Chijuka expressed surprise at the Constitutional Conference decision that the total strength of Nigeria's Armed Forces be pruned to 50,000. He described the proposed number as unrealistic. Brig. Gen. Chijuka was quoted in a newspaper report in Lagos as saying that the Constitutional Conference made a fundamental mistake by not seeking expert opinion from certain members of the military before taking its decision. He said that the officers would have briefed the conference on such important factors as potential threat to Nigeria and the internal and external commitments of the country. He said that a total force of 50,000 would turn the military into an elitist institution and this would lead to complaint of under-representation by various groups and states.

Brig. Gen. Chijuka dismissed suggestions that the military had become a threat to the country, because of its large size and its penchant for staging coups. He reminded Nigerians that the first coup was staged in 1966, when the size of the Army was only 7,000. The main threat to the country, he said, were politicians who were always instigating the military to stage coups. The brigadier said that the strength of the Nigerian Army had been pruned from 300,000 men and officers during the civil war of the late '60's to about 70,000 now.

The reaction of this official Defense spokesman is a clear indication that the federal military government will reject the decision when it receives the Constitutional Conference report early next year. [end recording]

One of the members of the committee that drew up the proposal to shrink Nigeria's Armed Forces was retired Major General A. B. Mannan who served in General Babangida's government. In Abuja Umar Faruk Musa asked him why he thought the Armed Forces should be slashed:

[Begin recording] [Mannan] No country in the world retains a large standing Army. I want to qualify that—a large standing Army. Instead what they go for is a small crack Army that can answer their immediate needs. Now there is a proviso. That proviso is that there must be a machinery for mobilizing from their reserve system to make up their wartime requirement. There must also be a machinery for mobilizing a tenth of the national population within a period of three months to make up whatever size Armed Forces a nation requires.

[Musa] You are a leading military man during the past military regime in the country. What role have you played to make sure that the number of Army did not exceed limit?

[Mannan] I have constantly... [pauses] In fact what I am saying today is borne out [of] my position way back, even before I became a member of the Armed Forces Ruling Council. I've always believed that the size of our Armed Forces was too much, and I have always—at any slightest opportunity—voiced my objection to the large standing Armed Forces that we have. [end recording]

Navy To Establish Bases in Rivers, Delta States

AB2811150094 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1800 GMT 27 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Nigerian Navy is to establish operational bases in Bonny and (?Escardos) in Rivers and Delta States. The chief of naval staff, Rear Admiral Mike Akhigbe, announced this in Port Harcourt. He said the measure was aimed at strengthening Nigeria's coastal frontier defenses. Adm. Akhigbe announced that the force had already established a base at Ibaka in Akwa Ibom State to enable the Navy to maintain a permanent presence in the disputed Bakassi Peninsula. The establishment of the four bases, he said, could reduce the Navy's reaction (?time) in deploying its troops to [word indistinct] areas in the event of renewed hostilities in the eastern coastal border areas.

Federal Government Discloses New Economic Plans

AB2511223794 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 25 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Federal Government has made known its new economic plans. The country has been divided into four economic zones: Kaduna, Lagos, Enugu, and Jos. This arrangement covers the agricultural, mining, and industrial units.

The director general of the Federal Ministry of Industry, Major General Olo Bajowa, spoke on these in Enugu at a

workshop on the new economic plans. Gen. Bajowa, who is the coordinator of the Enugu zone, said the workshop will examine the prospects and problems of [word indistinct] crops and tubers. Thirty-six institutions and companies are expected to discuss how to collate data on the potentials of traditional crops which sustained Nigeria's economy before the oil boom. These plans are part of the government's program for a private sector-led economic recovery through nonoil sources.

In a keynote address, the Enugu state administrator, Lieutenant Colonel Torey, asked the government to encourage private sector investment in agricultural production. He recommended proper identification of the agricultural potentials of all states in line with the strategies of the economic recovery program.

Sierra Leone

Rebel Leader Calls Conditions 'Unacceptable'

AB2711182394 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 27 Nov 94

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] In a gesture toward resolving the ongoing civil war in Sierra Leone, the NPRC [National Provisional Ruling Council] Government of Captain Valentine Strasser last week offered Corporal Foday Sankoh, the leader of the RUF [Revolutionary United Front] rebels, conditions for recognition of his movement, conditions which included the release of two British hostages captured by the rebels three weeks ago. The mysterious leader of the RUF rebels, reputed to be

an ex-Army photographer, started the war in Sierra Leone in 1991 and has rarely been seen since. Our correspondent in Freetown, Victor Sylver, has been in radio contact with Foday Sankoh and telexed this report on the rebel leader's reply to the government's offer of conditions.

The leader of the Revolutionary United Front, Cpl. Foday Sankoh, said the conditions laid down by the Strasser regime for recognition of the RUF as a political force and for its eventual participation in the democratic process were unacceptable. Cpl. Sankoh said he would never abide by the conditions, which included an immediate cease-fire, the release of hostages, and the transformation of the RUF into a political movement.

Speaking on a two-way radio, he had got in touch with the British High Commission to discuss the release of two volunteers, whom the RUF captured in an attack on the northern town of Kabala. When I spoke to him myself, Sankoh said that in any case, he was not interested in recognition by the NPRC Government but said he wanted the British Government to recognize the RUF as a rebel movement and to stop supplying arms to the Sierra Leonean Government, something which the British high commissioner here denies.

Cpl. Sankoh would not tell me where he was speaking from and neither would his adjutant, Sore Safaskilo, although he did say he was 200 km away from where the hostages are being held. He also said that he was holding another foreigner, a Russian, hostage. There has been some discussion in Freetown as to whether this is the same Foday Sankoh who began the war in 1991, but sources of the Defense Department say that they themselves have heard the voice and believe it to be genuine.

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